

# APPENDIX

TO THE

## EIGHTH VOLUME

OF

### THE THIRD SERIES

OF THE

# CRITICAL REVIEW.

Vol. VIII.

No. V.

ART. I.—*Nouveaux Elémens de la Science de l'Homme, &c.*  
*New Elements of the Science of Man.* By P. J. Barthez,  
 Physician to his Majesty the Emperor and King. 2 Vols.  
 8vo. Paris. 1806. Imported by Dulau.

THE analytic method of investigation has, of late, been applied to the science of physiology with considerable success, more especially by the French and some of the German writers; and the numerous and gross errors, which originated with the mathematical and chemical physicians, have gradually disappeared before the light of experiment. Much, however, remains to be investigated; and some of the principles substituted for the discarded dogmas of our predecessors, cannot but still be received with doubt, as deductions from a collection of facts, too limited or too imperfectly ascertained to admit of a satisfactory generalization. M. Barthez is fully impressed with the necessity of pursuing the experimental mode of inquiry in this, as in other branches of science, and seems to have endeavoured to adopt it, and even to fancy that he has succeeded in applying it to his physiological discussions in an extraordinary degree, and thence in developing several new and important principles relative to the animal economy. But although we acknowledge that he has displayed a large share of medical erudition, and an ample acquaintance with the modern state of knowledge in physiology and the collateral sciences, we are unable to accede to much of his reasoning, in which he appears to have deserted altogether those strict principles of induction, that *bonne méthode de philosopher*, to which he so frequently alludes.

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After a long preliminary discussion, in which he has laid down in a perspicuous manner the principles by which alone a correct information in this and other philosophical inquiries is to be obtained, the author proceeds to give a general view of the principles of motion and life which animate nature. He traces a gradual scale of motions, from the most simple up to those which regulate and preserve the organised bodies of animals and vegetables; these are impulsion, attraction, affinity (of the chemists), and the vital forces, which are not explicable by the laws of hydrostatics, mechanics, or chemistry. The principles of life in vegetables are obviously analogous to those of animals, and nature laughs at the vain distributions of human art. There is a continued scale which runs through the two kingdoms:

'Usque adeo quod tangit idem est, tamen ultima distant.'

He divides the powers of life into two kinds, which he denominates *forces motrices* and *sensitives*; meaning, we apprehend, the common distinction of irritability and sensibility; and then proceeds to an historical sketch of the opinions of philosophers, ancient and modern, respecting the nature of life. He first takes a view of the doctrines of Aristotle and his followers, of the Cartesian sect, and of the schools of Stahl and Boerhaave, who maintained that life was not a distinct principle from the body and the rational soul; and secondly, of Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics, and of Bacon, Van Helmont, Hoffmann, &c. in more modern times, who espoused the contrary opinion. These are at best but vague and fruitless speculations, which afford matter for interminable controversies, but in relation to which no satisfactory induction can be obtained from the few obscure *data* which we possess.

M. Barthez, nevertheless, in dereliction of those just rules of philosophy, with which he set out, and in the adoption of which he forswore all researches purely hypothetical, employs a long chapter in discussing the nature of the vital principle. This principle, he affirms, must be considered as something distinct from both the organisation and the rational principle of man. If by this he intends to assert a difference of the phenomena of irritability and sensibility of the muscular or moving parts, from the phenomena of mere matter under particular states of arrangement on the one hand, and of the faculties of thought, &c. on the other, he asserts a *truism*, which is indisputable. But if he means to contend that these phenomena originate from three distinct sources or principles

corporeal, vital, and mental; from a combination of matter with two other distinct essences; he then steps beyond the bourne of philosophy, into the regions of conjecture, and supplies by the help of his imagination the deficiencies of his experimental knowledge. From the most legitimate deductions of unaided reason, no proof of the existence of either of these invisible or immaterial principles can be obtained. Without the light of revelation, our philosophy, even in respect to the rational part of man, were mere gratuitous hypothesis. For surely these different phenomena by no means necessarily imply the existence of different principles. An ignorant person might, upon the same grounds, contend for a principle of solidity, a principle of fluidity, and a principle of vapour, from contemplating the various properties of water in these three states; although experiment has demonstrated, that the ponderosity and incompressibility of it in one condition, as well as the levity, elasticity, and expansive force in another, are dependant on a small change in the proportion of the component parts; namely, of the water, and the matter of heat. An extraordinary change of properties, therefore, is no direct evidence of the accession of a new principle.

The principle of motion and sensation cannot be conceived, he says, to be a result of organisation, unless we give up our commonly received opinions with respect to the essential properties of matter, which are, according to these opinions, *extension* and *vis inertia*. p. 84. This is merely begging the question. Nor is his reasoning more solid or important in attempting to refute the absurd and exploded doctrines of the *Stahl*ians or *Animists*. It is indeed too self-evident to admit of argument, that those operations of life, which are performed altogether independently of volition, reasoning, and even of consciousness, (such as the motion of the heart and arteries, of the intestines, &c.) are not the result of the thinking principle.

Having determined that life is neither the result of organisation in matter, nor a mode of the rational part of man, the author proceeds to inquire 'whether it has an independent existence, or whether it is merely a modification of the corporeal part, which gives this part life?' We must confess that we do not very distinctly comprehend the tendency or necessity of this discussion.

It would appear, that, as M. Barthez has arrived at the conclusion, that life is not the result of organisation, it must be somewhat of a solecism to affirm, that it is a mode of

the body (*un mode du corps humain*). And as he has also decided, that it is not a modification of the thinking part, he has no choice but to infer, that it is a principle, independant in its existence : and in fact, although he acknowledges that we can only obtain probabilities on this head, yet it is obvious that the probabilities on one side of the question are with him more satisfactory than those on the other. After confessing that the opinion, that the vital principle, although different from other known mechanical principles, may nevertheless have an existence *not* distinct from that of the body of the animal which it vivifies, has been most generally received in these times, 'and indeed seems to be the most natural from its simplicity,' the author does not think it necessary to adduce any evidence for that opinion ; but proceeds to state some facts which tend to support the contrary doctrine. Irrelevant as some of these are, (such as that young birds hatched in an oven endeavour to fly of their own accord as soon as they have strength,) he seems to rest satisfied with this view of the question, and thenceforth the vital principle, *personified*, as he afterwards aptly terms it, becomes the universal agent, ready to step in, and take the charge of all the inexplicable phenomena of the animal economy.

The contrast of this unphilosophical view of the subject, with that exhibited by a countryman of the author's, (M. Cuvier) in his introductory lecture,\* immediately brought the latter to our recollection.

'The idea of *life*,' says M. Cuvier, 'is one of those general and obscure ideas, which are produced in us by observing a certain series of phenomena, possessing mutual relations, and succeeding each other in a constant order. We know not, indeed, the nature of the link that unites these phenomena, but we are sensible that a connection must exist; and this conviction is sufficient to induce us to give it a name, which *the vulgar are apt to regard as the sign of a particular principle*, though in fact that name can only indicate the totality of the phenomena which have occasioned its formation. Thus as the human body, and the bodies of several other animals resembling it, appear to resist, during a certain time, the laws which govern inanimate bodies, and even to act on all around them in a manner entirely contrary to those laws, we employ the terms *life* and *vital force* to designate what are at least apparent exceptions to general laws.'

We conceive that no apology is necessary for thus adding the authority of Cuvier in favour of a doctrine, which seems

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\* Lectures on Comparative Anatomy, translated by Mr. Macartney. 1802.



to us as much at variance with the opinion above stated, as truth and error. A general term, whether life, gravitation, or elective attraction, is in all instances but an expression for an assemblage of phenomena, connected by some common resemblance.

Unphilosophical, however, and incorrect as the language of M. Barthéz may be, in thus speaking of life as a distinct existence, or a personification of power; had he not introduced inconsistencies into its operations; had he not arranged incongruous and dissimilar phenomena under the term, we should have been less disposed to disapprove of his doctrines. But when, in the subsequent chapter, treating of muscular forces, he cites the vital principle as the agent of contraction, and again of elongation and dilatation in muscular or moving parts, there is an obvious incongruity to which we cannot accede. Without multiplying the powers of this vital agent, the phenomena of the elongation and dilatation of muscles are ready explicable on the supposition that they possess a contractile power alone. M. Barthéz illustrates his opinion, in the dilatation of the heart, '*et dans les erections de divers organes, et particulièrement de la verge, &c.*'; in which he supposes that the ventricles of the former, and the cells of the latter, are expanded by an active extension of their constituent fibres, forgetting that a force *à tergo* in the circulating blood is sufficient to expand the passive fibres in both instances. It is a general law in the animal economy, that all increased action is succeeded by loss of power to act; that action and rest, contraction and relaxation, must alternate with each other at certain intervals. The contraction of the heart, then, having ceased, the relaxed fibres of the muscle are extended, and the cavity is dilated, by the blood pouring in from the *vena cava* and pulmonary vein; just as the bladder is distended by the gradual instillation of the urine passing into it from the kidneys. And in the case of the erection of the organs alluded to, the cells of which they chiefly consist are dilated, not in consequence of any 'immediate dilating power of the vital principle,' but in consequence of an increased local action of the arteries, which pour into them an unusual quantity of blood.

M. Barthéz has, besides, discovered other powers of the vital principle, operating through the medium of the muscles. He dwells upon one of these powers, which he calls '*la force de situation fixe*,' and which he seems to have invented for the purpose of explaining the rupture of the *tendo Achillis*, and the fracture of the *patella*, which some-

times happen from slight causes. 'These facts,' he says, 'prove that this force is altogether distinct from that of muscular contraction.' But this is a refinement which appears to be as absurd as it is unnecessary for the explanation of the facts in question. The sudden contraction of antagonist muscles, which takes place, when a false step is made, in order to save the body from a fall, is amply sufficient to produce these consequences; and it is only under such circumstances that these fractures generally occur. The author afterwards treats at large of the *tone* of muscular organs, '*des forces toniques*;' which he confounds occasionally with the contractile powers of moving parts. He also supposes a 'tonic power of extension' in the fibres, which appears to us a solecism; since the word *tone* implies simply a tendency to contract, or a slight degree of involuntary contraction in a muscle.

Although M. Barthez, however, has introduced these incongruities into his doctrine, and thus unphilosophically multiplied causes, where one is sufficient to explain the whole range of phenomena, he has displayed an ample knowledge of what other writers have advanced on the subject; and on this, as on all other topics embraced in his plan, he has adduced a comprehensive store of interesting facts, which confer a considerable value on his treatise. On this account we should have been the less disposed to impugn his theories, had he not perpetually claimed the merit of being the first to discover them, and incessantly alluded to '*la bonne méthode de philosopher*,' which he imagines he has peculiarly followed.

In the fifth and sixth chapters he relates a variety of facts relative to the question of the identity of sensibility and irritability, which has been ably discussed by Haller and Monro. And in the subsequent chapter, he treats of the vital powers of the fluids; and endeavours to prove, from the sudden and general effects of certain poisons in destroying the texture of the blood, and from the contractility or irritability of the *fibrin*, or coagulating lymph, that the vital principle exercises both sensitive and moving powers in the fluids; in other words, that the circulating fluids, like the muscles, possess both sensibility and irritability. Similar facts and observations were stated by Mr. John Hunter, and the subsequent labours of the chemists, especially of Fourcroy, have shewn the extreme similarity of composition of the *fibrin* and muscular fibre; so that the coagulating part of the blood may be almost considered as a fluid muscular matter, circulating to supply the waste of the living solids. The analogous ef-

fects produced at the same time on the solids and on the lymph of the blood by various causes, by lightning or the electric fluid, by certain animal poisons, by breathing deleterious airs, by violent death, &c. leave no doubt that the properties of both are the same. The facts which M. Barthez has collected, have been frequently brought together by other writers on this subject. With respect to the *secretion* of different fluids from the blood, which the principles of mechanism and of chemistry are totally inadequate to explain, M. Barthez finds no difficulty. He refers it at once to the action of the vital principle, and imagines that he has solved the mystery. But this is simply stating the fact, that secretion is one of the phenomena, which enter into the abstract notion of life: it is merely informing us that it is an action exclusively observed in living beings. No analogy or resemblance is pointed out between this, and any other process, with the nature of which we are better acquainted: we are left in our former ignorance.

We were considerably disappointed with the subsequent chapter, which treats of vital heat. From a writer so fully acquainted with the advancements of the present age in the sciences of chemistry and physiology, we did not expect such a tissue of erroneous reasoning, so many frivolous objections to received opinions, and such futile hypotheses to be substituted in their place. We shall content ourselves with observing, that he attributes the heat generated in animal bodies to the motions of the fluids and the friction of the solids, which are produced by *the vital principle*; and he supposes motion and friction of this sort, even where it is insensible. To illustrate this, he tells us of the light of glow-worms, and from the eyes of cats, of flashes of light produced by pressure on the eyeball or on the brain, of electrical fishes, &c. all of which have not the slightest relation to the production of animal heat. He thinks it impossible to assign a reason for the difference of heat in hot and cold blooded animals; and after quoting Buffon, who states that the heat of animals is in general at the extent of their lungs, he strangely concludes, that the chief action of the lungs consists in exciting throughout the system the *tonic* actions, and that in fact respiration is a cooling or moderating process. It is unnecessary to suggest one word of reply to all this irrelevant argument and exploded theory. We fear that, in spite of his attachment to the '*bonne méthode de philosophe*,' M. Barthez has been unable to banish the principles of early education, by the study of recently discovered truths, and that his prejudices are deeply rooted. There is one

difficulty, equally attached to all theories on this subject, that the heat of animals remains at its usual point in all temperatures; but the ingenious and convenient Archæus, the omnipotent vital principle is always ready to cut the knot which the author cannot untie. 'This principle varies the *tonic motions of agitation or of contraction*, and the intestine motions of the fluids, for this purpose, according to its original laws, in relation to the different temperature of the atmosphere.'

'Thus it lights up, in the body which it animates, a fire that burns with unvarying temperature; that is not increased under the heats of Senegal, nor extinguished amid the frosts of Siberia.'

Four chapters of the second volume are appropriated to the arrangement of a numerous collection of facts, relative to the sympathies which are observed among different organs of the human body, with a view to the deduction of some general and satisfactory results. Many of the facts are interesting, but we have not remarked any novelty or importance deduced from the classification.

He next treats of what he calls the complete system of the powers of the vital principle, and the changes it is liable to, which he branches off into a discussion respecting nervous and malignant diseases, and the changes induced by poisons. In regard to the former, he launches into a sea of hypothetical trifling, which he dignifies with the title of 'La vraie theorie,' and which he claims the merit of being the first to develop; but which, it must be observed, leads only to the common practical conclusion, that stimulants and sedatives are the proper remedies in nervous diseases, according as atony or spasm prevails; and that, in malignant complaints, fresh air and cordials, especially wine, are the most important remedies. What then is the merit or the advantage of this *true theory*? Celsus long ago justly remarked in regard to such speculations, 'nihil istas cogitationes ad medicinam pertinere, eo quoque disci, quod, qui diversa de his senserint, ad eandem tamen sanitatem homines perduxerint... à certis potius et exploratis petendum esse præsidium, id est, his, quæ experientia in ipsis curationibus docuerit, sicut in cæteris omnibus artibus.' We recommend these observations of the Roman to the attention of M. Barthez, and his theorizing brethren. On the subject of poisons he has collected a number of facts with respect to the action of different species on different animals, in order to shew that the action of many of them is specific, or *relative* to the constitution of particular animals. He intermingles with

these well attested facts, several tales respecting the bites of rabid or enraged animals, in which the peculiar manners of the animal were communicated to the human species. Thus he quotes instances of men barking and attempting to bite in hydrophobia; of others mewing like cats, after being bitten by these animals; and of others again, who flapped their arms and crowed like cocks, after receiving a bite from one of these birds. This, however, it must be added, is the only instance in which the author's credulity has exceeded his judgment.

The subject of temperament is, on the whole, well discussed; but many of M. Barthez's remarks relate rather to the changes of habit produced in the course of life by external circumstances, than to that connate and original constitution of the body, which characterizes individuals, and with which certain physical and moral phenomena are usually connected. The most important part of the discussion regards the comparative influence of physical and moral causes in modifying human temperament. We have not room at present, to enter far into the subject. The effects of climate, the author observes, are obvious both on man and on other animals: in the latter it changes their colour, figure, and size, &c. He believes that in general the extremities of the temperate zones bordering on the frigid, are the situations most favourable to human stature. There are some exceptions, however, as in the Laplanders. The internal effects of climate on the constitution are also important, and the author, with some ingenuity, traces an analogy between its effects on the physical and moral habits of the body. Thus excessive heat produces languor, a great sensibility to the action of medicines and other agents, and at the same time a tendency to excessive action or spasm; and a similar influence may be observed on the manners of the people in torrid climes. The Hindoos, for instance, are a timid race, yet on particular occasions capable of a sort of spasmodic effort of resolution, as in the case of the women, who burn themselves to death. But the author concedes too much to the influence of physical causes, when he attributes important effects resulting from the soil. The inhabitants of Scythia, he says, were all alike; those of modern Russia have throughout a similar resemblance. But this must be obviously the result of similar manners, religion, and government; since both soil and climate in a country so extensive must be extremely various. And, as M. Barthez afterwards remarks, political circumstances surmount the influence of climates. Greece and Egypt have not changed



their soil, but the courage and the genius of the people of both countries have withered under the barbarism of their government.

\* The grand improvements of the human mind are necessarily dependant on the moral and political circumstances which produce and multiply to excess the artificial wants of man, which occasion inequalities in his fortune and condition, and give rise to the revolutions and the complicated forms of different governments,

‘ When we contemplate the constant, and often periodical, changes, which history shews us have taken place in these political and moral causes in all ages ; how can we accede to the opinion, which some persons have endeavoured to propagate in modern times, that the human mind is absolutely destined to attain an indefinite state of perfection, towards which it will unceasingly advance with the passing ages of the world.’

It would have been well had this argument been duly impressed on the Godwins, &c. of the *Age of Reason*.

M. Barthez concludes his work with a chapter relative to the modification of the powers of life, produced by age, and to its termination in death. Galen and Stahl have justly remarked, that since man lives long, we can discover no reason *à priori* why he should not live for ever. The usual reasons that are urged, are that the organs become rigid, and the humours are materially changed. But these changes are equally difficult to explain with death itself. Therefore we can only, with M. Barthez, refer all to the *primordial laws* of the constitution, or in other words, confess that we know nothing more than the fact. He concludes with observations on the most common causes of death, on the mortality of different seasons and climates, and with a description of the signs of death, of apparent death and the means of resuscitation, and of the progress of dying in different instances. He believes, and from observation we fully accord with him in the belief, that in general death is not accompanied with painful sensations, rather perhaps with such as are pleasant, and somewhat similar to those of approaching sleep ; and that, in the feebleness which precedes it, it is by no means feared.

We have taken ample notice of this work, as the production of a man of great professional learning, a veteran in the field of practical medicine and of speculative physiology ; and have endeavoured to convey to our readers the impression which its perusal made upon ourselves. It abounds, both in the text and in the notes, with various knowledge, more especially from all the modern writers of distinguished

credit, which is brought together into useful groups. But we must peremptorily deny to the author the weed of praise which he repeatedly claims; since we cannot trace that spirit of philosophical induction, which in theory he appears so well to understand; nor can we discover any originality of deduction, which is consistent with that spirit; nor any new light springing from the focus, to which he has brought the facts in his possession. He is often misled by words, as in the frequent 'personification' of the vital principle; his views are often partial, as in discussing the nature of this principle, without allusion to the condition of the various tribes of animals; and his theoretical inferences do not lead to any useful or practical end. His merit is that of collection, not of philosophical arrangement.

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ART. II.—*Tableaux Comparatifs des dépenses, &c.*

*A Comparative Account of the Expences and Revenues of France and England. Accompanied with Considerations on the Resources of the two Countries, and being at the same time a Refutation of the Work of M. Gentz. By M. Sabatier. 8vo. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.*

THE author of this work, actuated, as he informs us, by national pride, undertakes to correct what he calls the errors and misrepresentations of M. Gentz, and by minute details to prove the superior advantages of France in point of finance, and in almost every branch of the resources which contribute to national importance and prosperity.

While M. Sabatier accuses other writers of partiality in favour of England, it is natural enough to believe that he himself is not devoid of national prejudice. We shall take notice of some of his principal statements, accompanied with such remarks as appear necessary to ascertain their real value and importance. It is true, as stated in the first chapter, that the apparent expenditure of Great Britain exceeds that of France by nearly forty millions sterling; but he totally omits to draw the evident conclusion, that while this enormous expenditure is met with comparative facility, and legitimate means of supply, the greatly inferior revenue of France is collected with difficulty, and aided by fraud, injustice and plunder. He consoles himself, however, with the hopes that the resources of France will gradually unfold themselves until they produce advantages far exceeding those enjoyed by this country. The first particular taken notice of, the navy, is

certainly not the most flattering to his expectations. Upon this subject he wisely says little, and the late glorious triumphs of the British flag have contributed to remove to a still greater distance, all hopes of rivalling this country in the empire of the seas. After some superficial remarks on the expences of the army, on the expences which in this country come under the heads of the civil list and miscellaneous services, on the public debt and management of the poor, M. Sabatier proceeds more minutely to examine the actual resources of the two nations. He makes a ridiculous mistake in stating the expence to government on account of volunteer corps, during the year 1804, to be twelve millions; and in boasting of the public debt of France being under three millions sterling, he loses sight of the unjust and infamous expedients by which the capital of the debt has repeatedly been annihilated, and the difficulty of procuring any loans, but by forced and fraudulent measures.

In estimating the resources of the two nations, M. Sabatier thinks proper to confess, that the calculations in this respect in Great Britain, are from a variety of causes more certain and accurate than in France. His own calculations indeed are founded on mere conjecture, and entitled to little credit. He admits the fact, however, only to get rid of a formidable objection to his own theory, which is opposed by all the previous statements of his own countrymen. He must first, therefore, prove them to be in error, to clear the way for his own conclusions. Upon the testimony of Cassaux, Lavoisier, Dedelai d'Agier, and particularly of Arnould in his discourse to the Council of Ancients, M. Gentz shews that the annual net produce of the land, in England alone, is equal to that of France before the revolution, estimated at forty-four millions sterling. This comprehends only the actual rental and the profits of the farmer. Our author wishes us to believe, that the statement of Arnould is far below the truth, and was calculated only to answer the particular purpose of shewing the impolicy of raising so great a part of the supplies by a direct land tax. He acknowledges that he has no *data*, more certain than those of his predecessors, and therefore only throws out a few ingenious suppositions, which do not merit a serious answer, as the whole of his argument resolves itself into the unfounded and ideal proposition, that as the population of France is three times greater than that of England, it must be three times richer in territorial produce. Upon the same principle, and without the shadow of an argument to prove it, he calculates the comparative produce of the wages of labour, both of persons employed in

agriculture and in various trades and manufactures, and also the net rents of houses. He takes the *data* of M. Gentz as applicable to England, and the simple process of multiplying by three, gives the result in favour of France. Upon the subject of forests, mines, and fisheries, the observations of M. Sabatier deserve a little more attention. He cannot deny the evident superiority of Great Britain in the practical application of industry, machinery and capital; but after an exaggerated statement of the natural advantages possessed by France, he flatters himself, with foolish confidence, that the great nation has only to will it, and art and science will immediately conspire to produce the greatest possible improvement.

The forests in the French Pyrenees, in the departments of Auvergne, Nivernois, Berry, Burgundy, Upper Dauphiné, &c. are mentioned as containing fine timber fit for building both merchant vessels and ships of war, but the want of easy communication with the sea ports by means of water carriage renders them as yet of little or no use. Wood for fuel is found in abundance; but in the large towns, and particularly in the capital, it is extravagantly dear. From want of water, and various obstructions it frequently requires four years to bring a float of wood to Paris from a distance of forty or fifty leagues.

M. Sabatier employs a long chapter to demonstrate the advantage of using coal instead of wood both for ordinary consumption, and particularly for the supply of manufactories which have been or may yet be established. He asserts that more than fifty departments possess this article in abundance, and attributes the reluctance in working the mines, many of which are well situated near navigable rivers, to a stupid prejudice entertained by manufacturers and the inhabitants in general. We imagine, however, that more formidable obstacles are to be found in the want of machinery and of able engineers, and still more in the want of capital which may be securely employed in expensive experiments.

The iron ores of France, which constitute the sole mineral production it possesses of any consequence, are highly over-stated both in quantity and quality, and the manufacturing establishments for the various operations of carting, cementing and hammering, are as yet in an infant state. When M. Sabatier estimates the profits of internal commerce in France at three times the amount of those of Great Britain, and asserts that the advantages derived from fisheries, foreign possessions, and foreign commerce are in each branch equal at least to those of this country, the statement is too

impudent even for a Frenchman to require a serious answer. A comparative table is introduced at the end of the work, giving a result in favour of France in the proportion of about ten to four; but in respect to the actual state and resources of France it is a contemptible fabrication, not calculated to impose on any one who possesses the slightest degree of real information upon the subject.

### ART. III.—*Monumens Celtiques, &c.*

*Celtic Monuments; or an Inquiry into the Worship of Stones.*  
By M. Cambry. 8vo. Paris. 1805. Imported by De-  
basse.

THE study of antiquities throws considerable light on the primitive history of mankind. It shews the incipient state of the arts, and discovers the first rude beginnings of civilized society. That part of this branch of study which M. Cambry has treated in the present work, relates principally to those huge and shapeless collections of single stones arranged in various forms, which are found in different parts of the world, and are supposed to be of Celtic origin. Of these singularly curious reliques of antiquity, the most extraordinary are those of Carnac in France and of Stonehenge in England. The stones at Carnac are much more numerous and spread over a larger space than those at Stonehenge.—At Carnac, which is a village in the department of Morbihan and three leagues from the town of Auray in the *cidevant* Brittany, there is an immense number of huge stones ranged in eleven lines, which are separated by a space of about thirty feet. These stones, which are said at present to amount to 4000, are bedded in the sand. They have no foundation to support them, nor are they always placed on their heaviest or broadest ends. Some of them may be made to oscillate; but they still preserve their equilibrium, as if the authors of this shapeless pile had been anxious to leave to posterity a perplexing memorial of their mechanic skill. As might naturally be supposed, the origin of this stupendous monument, which is lost in the long night of time, has been ascribed to the most fanciful causes, and been enveloped in the most visionary tales. With some it is one of Cæsar's legions miraculously changed into stone; with others the playful execution of little demons and omnipotent dwarfs, who bore these enormous masses from some distant quarries and arranged them in mystic lines. Here they often trip it on the pliant toe till the morning dawn, and woe be to the traveller who disturbs them in the merry dance! Some imagine that one of these stones



contains an immense treasure, and that the rest were placed to conceal the secret, the master-key to which is deposited in the tower of London. Others say that these stones are a gradual accumulation; that in the month of June in every year one was added to the number; and that the ceremony was preceded by expensive illuminations. Some truth may perhaps be enveloped in this last tradition. Nor does it seem unlikely that these stones had some reference to astronomical observations. The season of the year, the summer solstice, in which a fresh stone was added to the collection, and other circumstances, favour the supposition. And the lines in which the stones are placed may probably relate to the zodiac, in which the most ancient astronomers acknowledged only eleven signs. The new stone was an annual offering to the stars, or like the new nail which the Romans fixed in the temple of Jupiter in times of difficulty and distress, might be intended to serve some purposes of superstition. The stones at Carnac are of different sizes, but though far more numerous, they seem to contain no single stones so large as some which are found at Stonehenge. The highest stone stands about twenty-one or twenty-two feet out of the earth; and one of them is twenty two feet high, twelve wide, and six thick, without including the part which is buried in the sand. It must weigh about 256,800lb. There are some quarries about a league from Carnac, from which the stones were probably extracted. Carnac appears to have been one of the principal seats of Druidical superstition.

Previous to the arrival of the Saxons, England was one of the favoured resorts of the Druids, and Stonehenge still bears ample testimony to their existence and their skill. This interesting remain of antiquity is composed of a double circle of upright stones, cross stones, and covered stones of a prodigious size. Some of them are twenty-eight feet high and seven broad. Placed in the midst of a spacious plain, with no objects whatever near to divert the attention, or to diminish their magnitude by comparison, they are no sooner seen than the eye is fixed, as if by fascination, to the spot; sensations of awe and admiration are excited, which border on the effect of the sublime; and these sensations are increased by the thick cloud of antiquity, which veils the origin, combined with a consciousness of some great but unknown mechanic powers, which must have been exerted in the erection of this stupendous structure. The time when, and the particular uses for which these massive stones were brought together are not known with any certainty. No delusions are more common than those of the

antiquarian. For want of documents he resorts to conjecture, and his conjectures are often most fanciful and wild. Some have supposed these stones anterior to the deluge; and the honour of the erection has by others been ascribed to the devil and to Merlin the enchanter. But all sober antiquaries consider Stonehenge as the work of Druidical skill, and consecrated to the mysterious rites of Druidical theology. The largest circle of stones is about 109 feet in diameter; and there are two small oval inclosures, in one of which are two blocks of blue marble of about 16 feet high and six thick, which are supposed to have served as the altars of the sanctuary. When we consider that there are no quarries within thirty miles of Stonehenge, from which stones of this nature and size could have been drawn, we must be astonished that the mechanic powers were in so early and so rude a period, so well understood and so successfully employed. But it is not improbable that in the 'dark backward and abysm of time,' there have been periods of comparative civilization and science, of which the records of history furnish no account, but of which some imperfect vestiges still appear in the mutilated monuments of antiquity.

Among the most curious remains of Celtic origin and proofs of Celtic skill may be reckoned the rocking stones which are found in different parts of Europe, of which there are several in this island. Some of them are enormous masses placed in a central point on other stones, moving with the slightest impulsion, and preserving their equilibrium for ages!

It is grateful to behold the mind of man thus exerting its powers in the infancy of time, and leaving traces of its operations which the philosophical and the profound of later ages regard with reverence and view with admiration.

M. Cambry strongly recommends the study of the Celtic language, which he considers as one of the principal parents of the French, and as necessary to illustrate the early history and the primitive state of France. The Celtic language is still spoken in Brittany, in Cornwall, and in Ireland. The degree of science, civilization, and art, to which any people had in some remote period attained, might with considerable certainty be deduced from the vocabulary of their language, if every other memorial had perished. The terms of science and of art shew in a great measure the state of science and of art. The operations of art give birth to the terms of art. Scientific exertions must precede the vocabulary of science. It is not new terms which occasion new inventions, but new inventions which produce new terms. A language becomes

copious in proportion to the intellectual exertions of a people; in proportion as arts, manufactures, and commerce, increase their wants, enlarge their intercourse, and multiply their relations. If in any antient language we find many abstract terms, it is a proof that the people of that period were habituated to reflection; and that they had at least made some advances beyond the narrow boundary of particular truths into the spacious circumference of philosophical generalities. The powers of reflection are limited by the vocabulary of abstraction; and if we had a definite, a distinct, and luminous vocabulary to express the diversified operations of the mind, and sensations of the heart, a final period would be put to the impositions of sophists, and the tricks of priests. The cloudy ambiguities of theology, and the perplexing jargon of metaphysics, would disappear when they could no longer be saved from extermination or shielded from disgrace by the equivocations of language, and the fraudulent legerdemain of speech. Common sense would not be lost sight of even in the most profound and interesting speculations. If we may trust to the light of etymological inquiry, there do appear to have been times when, from the distinct and definite sense in which every word was used, no disputes could have been occasioned by verbal ambiguities.

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ART. IV.—*De L'Amour, considéré dans les lois réelles, &c.*  
*Of Love considered in its natural Laws, and in the social*  
*Forms of the Union of the Sexes. By M. de Senancour. 8vo.*  
*pp. 297. Paris. 1806. Imported by De Conchy.*

'I am about to speak of one of the first necessities of man. I shall speak of it with a disordered and feeble voice, and I shall remain far below so grand an object,' says M. de Senancour in the first paragraph of what he learnedly and ingeniously styles his 'Observation.' Now this same observation is the likeliest thing to a preface that we have happened to meet with in the course of our experience; but M. de Senancour assures us that it is not so, and that if any body should call it by that appellation, he would reply that it is an 'Observation.' For the style of the work at large, he modestly declares in the same place that it would require considerable alterations before he could say that he was generally satisfied with it; and we believe, that if his readers were, in imitation of his illustrious example, to write a second 'Observation,' they would generally concur in this respect with the opinion of the author. He seems indeed to be master of few of the graces of

composition, to be affected without ingenuity, to be obscure without profundity, and to imitate the inflation of poetry without catching its fire, or being animated by its enthusiasm.

This treatise on Love is only part of a larger work which the author has long had in contemplation. He avows that he knows not how it will be received by the public, but that if he had made it such as it ought to be, he might, with propriety, exclaim as others have done, 'I have erected a monument.' But M. de Senancour pretends to nothing; he gives his essay as it is, without comment, and only hopes that it may produce some secret and private utility. Full of that insidious philanthropy which affects to aim at the unattainable object of the good of the human race, which despises local laws as barbarous inventions, and ancient opinions as destructive prejudices, he pours forth to his reader a torrent of French morality, of which self-gratification is the first principle, and personal safety the noblest end. So widely different are the principles which are admired and cultivated in this country, so highly do we value the chaste nicety of female decorum, that the work before us, which will probably have a considerable sale in France, and neither shock the feelings nor revolt the delicacy of the people, would here be received with disgust, or rejected with horror. Many parts of this performance are such as necessarily to preclude us from any very minute criticism of its contents, as it is not our intention to be the retailers of M. de Senancour's system of loose morals and indifferent religion. But these more objectionable parts being neglected, there remains enough to demonstrate the futility of his reasonings, the absurdity of his illustrations, and the affectation of his style.

The work is divided into sections, in the first of which love is considered in man in general. Here we first learn that 'the human affections are the movements excited by relations perceived according to that harmony which binds all beings in an unlimited dependence.' This may perhaps pass for a definition, though it seems much better fitted to figure as a riddle. But M. de Senancour delights to deal out propositions cloathed in oracular obscurity, and aiming at oracular wisdom. Almost in the next page he declares 'that the morality of man is a part of the abstract world,' and immediately after he begins to explain the elements of his moral code, and assures us that the virtues of the human race have no other essential foundation than the necessity of food and sleep, of avoiding suffering, and desiring reproduction. In this sentence he betrays his partiality to the least noble and elevating of the systems of ethics, which disclaims all love of



virtue for its own sake, which does not even trace our approval of the right to the wish of obtaining the approbation of the Deity, but adopts the principle of pleasure in its least attractive guise, and would leave to man no other rules of conduct than to the birds of the air or the beasts of the forest, all whose actions are governed, without doubt, by the very causes here held out as the ground-work of human excellence. For by what can the vilest and lowest of the animal race be induced to move from the spot on which it rests, unless to procure food, to search for a commodious place for sleep, to avoid injuries, or to reproduce itself? The analogy between the highest and the inferior orders of creatures, is certainly in many points strong; but we think it totally fails when it is attempted to identify the causes and rules of their actions.

In the latter part of this section M. de Senancour descants with great vigour on the pains which nature has taken to spread the reign of love. 'Since love is natural,' says he, 'since it is inevitable, it is essentially good. It is honourable, it is *sublime*: for the beautiful is its object, harmony its principle and its aim!' So thought in some respects an abler writer, who has said

Omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem,  
Efficit ut cupide generatim sæcla propagent.

But M. de Senancour was engaged to compose a work on love, and how could this have been effected without enlarging his observations far beyond the limits of sober sense or sound philosophy? This section is concluded with a sort of abridgment of the author's doctrine, or, as it may be called, his moral creed; which we present to our readers as a specimen of the novelty, ingenuity, and clearness of this writer's ideas:

- 'The passions are the progressive sentiments of moral relations.
- 'Morality is justice in action.
- 'Justice is the consequence of equity.
- 'Equity is the intellectual result of the view of the equilibrium: Equity is mathematical.
- 'Justice is moral equity.
- 'Equity is the means, justice is the product.
- 'The understanding recognises and sees equity: it discovers and wishes for justice.
- 'Equity is the assistance and rule of the understanding: justice is its will expressed, and, as it were, a just feature of its vast conceptions.
- 'Equity is the supreme conception.
- 'Justice is the eternal idea.
- 'Justice submits the affections to the idea.
- 'Every law is the mode of a relation.



‘ Primitive law is the mode of the movement of the world.

‘ The true mode of the institutions of states existed before man existed.

‘ This movement of the world is necessary: it is eternal; it is then just.

‘ Thus primitive law is just: thus every human law which is not modelled on the great archetype is not a law: but a parody of a law. Before primitive law there is nothing except the necessity of that law; it is the nature of things, absolute abstraction, destiny.’

Some of this we understand, and pronounce it to be nonsense: some we do not understand, and can only conjecture to be so; but we should be happy to learn from M. de Senancour what sort of thing his necessity of law is, and whether the old fashioned hypothesis of a Deity might not have been just as intelligible, nearly as probable, and almost as useful, to explain the origin of those laws which have given him so much trouble to so little purpose.

‘ These rapid and incomplete sketches,’ are addressed by M. de Senancour to ten men in Europe who are not named, but who are humbly requested to put the finishing hand to them, only it is bargained that a legislator shall be one of these decemviri. Probably this is an ingenious way of telling the world that these observations are a great deal too profound for them to understand. We confess ourselves to be one of the world in this instance, and should really be at a loss to express our opinion of the merits of this germ of legislation, did not M. de Senancour himself afford us language happily appropriate to the description of our feeling. ‘ When this article,’ says he, ‘ shall be digested, they will call it rash, romantic, perhaps absurd.’

In the second section M. de Senancour considers love morally and civilly, as it exists in society; and here is the first inquiry concerning the sentiment of love, and its moral effect, and whether it be any thing more than vanity. ‘ Love,’ observes our author, ‘ is the grand mystery of life; and the secret beauties of the world are thrown away upon man alone. There is no love without depth.’ In the same strain, through many pages, he pursues his subject, which flies as he approaches, surrounding itself by a veil of obscurity, which refuses to yield a way to the efforts of an enthusiastic philosophy, expressed in a mysterious jargon. Love, however, being an ever present inmate of the human heart, cannot, according to M. de Senancour, long want an object, and that being acquired, the violence of its unrestrained action was found to be too great, and laws were devised to curb its excesses. Hence, he asserts, priests of all religions have discovered this to be a

favourable opportunity for shackling yet further the actions of men, *knowing well that the more they require of men, the better they will govern them* :—a weak and miserable sophism, confounding true and false religions in one undeserved reproach, and ignorant of the love of virtue, which is a principle of the human heart, and one of its brightest ornaments. This section concludes with a dissertation in the usual style of profound learning, on the difference of love in the two sexes, and the addition which the mental love affords to the corporeal, comprehending some discussions which we do not chuse to consider in this place.

In the next division we find the 'natural laws' of love under consideration. Here exclusive possession is represented as the consequence of that disposition shown throughout all nature, to make sure of her desired ends, by constituting the causes more powerful and more frequent than what are merely necessary to produce the effect : and hence M. de Senancour affirms, our desires extend themselves beyond our real necessities, and we are not satisfied with the possession, but with the exclusive possession of the female sex. But surely there are other reasons which contribute among the human race to this desire of permanent union, and which might not have been unworthy of the attention of an inquirer, who would penetrate into the recesses of the heart. In the words of one of our noblest poets, the different arguments which might have induced mankind to the invention of a perpetual union of the sexes, are most completely as well as elegantly expressed :

' Hail, wedded love, mysterious law, true source  
Of human offspring, sole propriety  
In Paradise, of all things common else.  
By thee adulterous lust was driven from men  
Among the bestial herds to range; by thee  
Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,  
Relations dear, and all the charities  
Of father, son, and brother, first were known.——  
Here Love his golden shaft employs, here lights  
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings ;  
Reigns here and revels : not in the bought smile  
Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unendeared——'

Surely some better reasons are here assigned for 'exclusive possession' than any that can be drawn from the mere violence of desires. Nay, if we were forced to abandon the opinion of Milton, we should prefer infinitely the theory which represents chastity as a refinement in luxury, to this which attributes its origin to the bestial violence of the appetites of

man. Nothing shews a less comprehensive mind, than thus to pick out one of our propensities, and solely because that is in common with us and the inferior animals and because it suits a general view thus to degrade the human race, to neglect the other obvious and strong motives which direct our actions. In this section we have a great deal of French reasoning upon the absurdity of jealousy, very inconsistent with that value which in this country is put upon the virtues of constancy and female modesty. In consequence, chastity, continence, and delicacy are reckoned to be very good things when they are to be had, but the absence of them not to be a reasonable cause of distress. One observation may be here made; wherever these virtues are so talked of and regarded, we may be assured that they very seldom exist. That nicety of female conduct which is here so highly esteemed, is in many parts of the continent hardly understood. In France and Germany a known adulteress is received in society without reluctance: in this country, thank God, that practice is yet confined to the higher ranks, and even there admitted with limitations. Long may it be so restricted!—In the latter part of this section of the work before us there are some rather ingenious remarks on the subject of modesty, which we cannot transcribe, and of which though we approve the ingenuity, we do not mean to admit the justness.

The next section is devoted to the consideration of the duties of love, and their violation; of adultery, rape, divorce, libertinism; and the question whether female honour consists in chastity alone, which M. de Senancour answers, as might be expected, in the negative. The fifth section treats of enjoyments; its contents are such as forbid us to enter into any investigation of their merits.

In the sixth section different customs regarding love are the subject of inquiry; and here the author avows himself to be the decided enemy of marriage, which he asserts to have wholly failed in the purpose for which it was instituted, and that chiefly on account of the restrictions imposed by the laws of most countries upon divorces. These restrictions, however, the experience of France itself has shown to be essential to the good morals of society; and so they must be regarded by any man who does not consider marriage merely as the means of gratifying one of the lowest passions of the human race. M. de Senancour explains in this place the reason why parents are not generally beloved by their children, and attributes their indifference to the discordance of age. In this country, however, the fact is not as here stated.

We do not find that aged fathers are less beloved by their offspring than younger ones, but rather the contrary. Every generous and noble principle, however, is disliked and avoided by this author.

It appears clearly from the account which we have given, as well as from the whole tenor of the present work, that M. de Senancour is altogether attached to the Epicurean school. Pleasure is his only good and his only object. This, which may be easily gathered from his train of thinking, he avows openly in his conclusion. 'The art of enjoyment is the true science of life;' but unfortunately, he has attributed too great a share of this enjoyment to the senses, and neglected by far too much the nobler parts of our nature. Upon the whole, we cannot help ranking M. de Senancour with the rest of the system-mongers of these modern days, who in their attempts to mend have generally spoiled or destroyed the object of their cares. As for religion, there is no trait of it in the whole performance, and the great aim may be asserted to be, to persuade men and women to live with each other in promiscuous intercourse, unbound by any ties, and unrestrained by the interference of law. The females, in particular, are little likely to be persuaded to concur in these sentiments, wherever at least they have a just view of their own interest and ultimate advantage. The short-lived and insufficient pleasures of their youth would be succeeded by a long winter of neglect, uncheered by the sweets of domestic intercourse; and the gain of a few moments would be dearly purchased by the languishment and misery of succeeding years.

We cannot recommend the perusal of this work to our readers; it is the very froth and scum of the worst species of French philosophical morality; but, like other froths, contains that within it which may ferment and deteriorate, which may poison the solid principles of our youth, and direct their attention to objects naturally too attractive to be considered with calmness in the hey-day of our blood, and which are dangerous even to grey hairs and mature experience. We commit it to the ten men whom he has summoned as his jury: let them deal mercy in justice; and if his assertion be correct that these ten only will understand or appreciate a work too profound or too obscure for the ignoble crowd, let his impotence of mischief excuse his desire of evil, and an eternal veil of oblivion hide the author and his performance for ever from our view.

ART. V.—*Beyträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament, &c.*

*Part I. Contributions towards an Introduction to the Old Testament, by Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, Teacher of Philosophy at Jena, with a Preface; by Doctor Griesbach. First Volume.*

*Part II. A Critical Inquiry into the Credibility of the Book of Chronicles with a Reference to the Books of Moses and the giving of the Law. A Supplement to Vaters's Inquiries into the Pentateuch. 8vo. Halle. 1806.*

IN this work we meet with profundity of research, with acuteness of remark, and solidity of judgment, with originality of conceptions and views, and pleasing and lively style. Such are the talents which are requisite in an inquiry into the Old Testament. The happy revival of this study by the elaborate, the erudite, and the virtuous Eichhorn, was commenced in too pleasing and ingenious a form for criticism, after a cold examination of important arguments, to pierce into the depths of detail, and to explore the labyrinths of antiquity; and the multitude of young divines, instead of advancing in the path of this meritorious leader, contented themselves merely with repeating what he had said before. The convictions of others, which are uttered in an imperious tone, seldom say any thing else but what is found scattered in particular treatises and commentaries of biblical literature, of which a merely literary notice appears in the later editions of Eichhorn's introduction. The very argumentative D. Jahn has great merit in this department, but it is little known; and the penetrating remarks which are found in the rich fragments of Otmar have been thrown aside on account of the hypotheses with which they are connected.

It is with abundant satisfaction, therefore, that we notice the work of a young man of so much learning and promise, who, if he proceed with the same talent for unbiassed and recondite investigation, and with the same zeal for biblical philology and history, will secure for himself a distinguished niche in the temple of theological fame. Even this first volume bears ample testimony to the justice of his claim. It is divided, as the title specifies, into two parts; *I. An Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Books of Chronicles. s. 1—132. II. Results of the Mosaic History and the giving of the Law. s. 135—209.* The author, according to the valuable testimony of the venerable writer of the preface,



long ago imparted to him a treatise in which he had endeavoured at large to shew, from a variety both of internal and of external proof, that even the second, third, and fourth books of Moses were a collection of very different tracts, between which there was originally neither harmony nor connection: that the book of Deuteronomy appears to have been the work of a very different writer, that it constitutes a whole, and breathes a spirit which in a very remarkable manner distinguishes it from the other books: that the composition of the Pentateuch in its present form was probably the work of a much later period even than that which is wont to be assumed by those learned men, who deny it to be the work of Moses; that this assertion is not controverted by the Samaritan Pentateuch, with the supposed antient aversion of the Samaritans to the Jews, nor by the discovery of the law in the temple in the time of Josias, nor even by any thing in the historical books of the Old Testament, as far as they are rightly understood, with the exception only of several relations in the books of Chronicles; but that important objections may be urged against the antiquity and entire credibility of those books. At the moment when this work was completely ready for publication, appeared Vaters's important treatise on Moses and the authors of the Pentateuch, in the third part of his commentary on the Pentateuch. Though such a coincidence with another in the substance and the results of his investigation might gratify a lover of truth, yet in a young author, who was wishing to recommend himself to the learned world by an interesting and elaborate performance, it could not but excite regret, to have his labours anticipated, and himself undeservedly exposed to the charge of plagiarism. It is a loss to literature that the works of Wette and of Vaters, which were finished at the same time, did not issue at the same time from the press. Each of these writers has made very momentous remarks his exclusive property. In both works the reader is led in different directions to the same conclusion. The agreement of both is a strong argument of the truth of their hypothesis, as is seen in the bold dissertation of Wette, in which the book of Deuteronomy is proved to be different from the preceding books of the Pentateuch, and the work of a later writer (Jan. 1805) by the deviations in the phraseology of Deuteronomy from that of the preceding books. The composition of Wette, if we may judge from the proof before us, excels that of Vater in a more animated progression of thought, in force of judgment, and strength of inference. The work of Vater, by too indulgent a reference to

all the opposite arguments and objections, may obtain the appearance of greater impartiality ; but perhaps, by abstaining too much from all which is merely hypothetical, he makes little more than a mere allusion to the importance of results, and to the combination of all the circumstances which gave rise to the history of the Pentateuch. The second part of de Wette's work (of the first we shall speak by and by) is divided into the three following treatises; *a Revision of the Historical Proofs and Traces of the prior Existence of the Pentateuch as a written whole. II. Proof from the Antiquity of the Samaritan Codex. III. Of the State of Religious Worship among the Israelites in reference to the Legislation of the Pentateuch.*

From Jos. xv. 63, it has been endeavoured to prove that this book must have been prior to the times of David. The author compares 1 Chron. xi. 8. '*and Joab let the rest of the town live;*' (our translation renders it very improperly *repaired the rest of the city*;) and accordingly after the times of David, Jebusites may have been mingied among the Jews, or, as they are called in another place, among the Benjamites at Jerusalem. The author supposes therefore that the whole account of the conquest of Jebus in the times of Joshua is a ground less tradition, and that those memoirs and books belong to a time when it was no longer remembered that David had made the first conquest of the town, and in his clemency spared the lives of the old inhabitants. On the books of Kings and the book of Joshua he argues that if both were not the work of the same hand, they issued from the same manufactory.

'Who can help seeing' says he, 'that all the historical works of our canon are written according to one plan, and placed in an inseparable connection? They all, as it were, consitute a great Epopœia in which Jehovah is the principal hero on one side, and the people of God on the other. Of the larger part of the historical books of the books of Samuel, and the books of Kings, we know for certain that they were put together after the destruction of the city by the Babylonians. With them the book of Joshua has an intimate coincidence in language and in manner.'

To his proposition that 'all the historical books of the Old Testament are written on one plan,' we cannot assent; and we are less pleased with the application to them of the term Epopœia. The authors of the books seem indeed throughout to cherish similar ideas and to have the same purpose in view. The books have all a great similitude of character, and it is truly said that they are all placed in the same kind of connection: but still it is far from being true that 'they

are written on one plan.' Besides the language, an unity of character is seen in this, that they are all more or less palpably compiled from older accounts, which were with greater or less facility made to combine into a whole. This is so evident, that even the books of Esras and Nehemiah are divided into many parts without connection or coherence. This has been acknowledged, and from this it has been argued that the Hebrew writers had before them peculiar sources, from which they derived their information and contemporary accounts of the events which they described. But it does not follow that what at the time of the captivity was an ancient document, was as ancient as the event which it relates. Nor is it at the same time clear *how much* was taken from ancient documents. After proving the more recent antiquity of *the whole*, this plea was employed to defend the authenticity of *particular accounts*. Our author no where exposes himself to this charge of inconsistency. He justly remarks that if the account, 1 Sam. viii. 12, ff. be true, the regal law which we find in Deut. xvii. 14, ff. could not have been extant at the time. It is accordingly remarked that before we employ any particular psalm as an historical document, it should first be shewn that it is the production of the writer to whom it is ascribed.—The writer doubts whether the speech of David, 1 Kings ii. be literally true. Of the speeches which are uttered by the active personages in Thucydides and Livy, every one thinks that the historian endeavoured to place himself in their situation, and to make them speak accordingly. The passage in the law of Moses, to which we have referred above, proves nothing more than that in the time of the captivity the author of the book of Kings inserted such a mention of a written law. Of the finding of the law under Josias the author speaks as of the first certain actual vestige of our Mosaic books, or at least of one of them, the book of Deuteronomy. He shews that in Esras and Nehemiah, we have traces of *all* the Mosaic books.

The second treatise shews it to be highly probable that it was not till the time of Alexander the Great, that the Samaritans adopted that peculiar religious constitution which for ever kept them as a peculiar religious sect separate from the Jews, in which separation the introduction of the Pentateuch by the Jews became impossible. It was not the hatred or the envy of the tribe of Judah, or even of the house of David, which caused the separation of the ten tribes. They wished for a milder government; and they asserted their right to bestow the royal dignity, to which succession had yet given no right to the family of David; for

even to the time of Saul the connection between the tribes was very loose, and when David was already king of Judah, the remaining tribes hesitated for a year, before they acknowledged his authority. And the man of God who, 1 Kings, xii.21, ff. addresses Rehoboam calls the Israelites *brethren*. It is true that both kingdoms were often at war with each other, but at other times they were on terms of amity. The separation of their religious rites, which followed their political separation, was indeed not so immediate or perceptible. Even after the building of the temple at Jerusalem the former liberty of religious worship was continued, or at least the people at the end of the reign of Solomon could not have been accustomed to the temple worship. The temple worship could be practised only in the kingdom of Judah; and the worship of Jehovah was for ever at variance with any exotic worship. Or could a religious antipathy arise because Jeroboam introduced the worship of the golden calves? Amid this contention and perplexity a purer religion was introduced by the intervention of the prophets: and this more enlightened, more virtuous and patriotic party remained in perfect unison, without any separations of tribe or kingdom, as the history clearly proves. Both in Israel and in Judah prophets arise, by whom the word of God is announced, and who are revered as men of God. They consider the twelve tribes as constituting only one nation. Compare 1 Kings xviii.31, ff. The author of the books of Kings affords a highly satisfactory and comprehensive proof of the tolerant way of thinking which prevailed in both kingdoms, and which continued till the time of the captivity, in the whole course of his work, and more especially in particular passages; see 1 Kings, xvii. Hence we may see how it was possible that a religious code which had been adopted in the tribe of Judah, might have been introduced into the kingdom of Israel. With respect to the Samaritans, the history previous to the captivity furnishes no satisfactory intelligence of their religious relations to the Jews. After the captivity, they are found, it is true, in the books of Esras and Nehemiah as the gainsayers of Judah and Benjamin. It is only the authors of these books, who appear to have regarded them with rancour and suspicion. Their accounts manifest great hostility to the Samaritans, when these made friendly proposals to confederate in the same religious worship with the Jews, and who entertained no religious antipathy to the Jews. The Samaritans were first willing to worship the God of the Jews in the same manner as the Jews, and they had accordingly at that time neither the same worship nor the same religious usages as

the Jews. Consequently, they had not the Pentateuch.—Thus far extends the Old Testament. In succeeding times, we find in Josephus (Ant. XI. 7 and 8.) that Sanballar, the satrap of Samaria, gave his daughter in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of the Jewish high priest, in order to conciliate the friendship of the Jews; but that that high priest together with the people demanded of Manasseh either to renounce his marriage or the priesthood. Manasseh obtains a promise from his father-in-law, that after he had married his daughter he should himself be high priest of a temple like that at Jerusalem. Besides Manasseh, many Jews of that time, and indeed many priests were in the habit of contracting similar marriages, and passing with Manasseh into Samaria, where they fixed their habitations near Mount Gerizim, on which, with the consent of Alexander the Great, that temple was really built. From those marriages and from the first purpose of Sanballar, it is clear that no religious antipathy subsisted between the Jews and the Samaritans; and lastly, that they had established no solemnities of worship from any written formulary like the Pentateuch. But nothing is more probable than that, when Manasseh and other Jewish priests went over to the Samaritans and introduced a worship similar to that which was practised at Jerusalem, the book of the law came into the possession of the Samaritans.

The third treatise, 'on the State of the Religious Worship of the Israelites, in respect to the Legislation of the Pentateuch,' brings together so many clear and appropriate data which have hitherto been too little considered, that the impression which it leaves is as convincing as it is new. Not only from many of the Mosaic laws, but from all the historical books of the Old Testament, (the books of Chronicles excepted, of which we shall speak hereafter,) the author has clearly evinced that till the times of David and Solomon they had not thought on any national sanctuary where the worship of Jehovah should be only and exclusively performed, but that there were many holy places where religious solemnities were practised. There was in this respect a perfect liberty of conscience; and every prophet, king, or father of a family officiated as a priest. In the reign of David, the worship of God seems to have been first subjected to the direction of the priests. On the consecration of the temple, we meet with priests; before David and Solomon they appear as officers of the court; but even after the building of the temple the former freedom of religious worship in some degree remained; they offered on heights. And these offerings could not have been regarded as the worship of idols, and the



priest could yet have possessed no hierarchical controul or popular influence, when that practice and the irreconcilable variance between the worship of idols and the worship of the temple continued. *This date of liberty and extravagance was terminated by the discovery of the book of the law under Josiah.* At Silo, at Sichem, at Mizpa, at Bethel, at Gilgal, at Ramah, at Bethlehem, at Nob, at Hebron, we find sanctuaries, altars, or offerings, for Jehovah, and even Solomon makes oblations on the great height at Gibeon. According to the words of the book of Kings, which are expressly repeated of all even the most religious kings of Judah, *the worship in the heights was not abolished till the time of Hezekiah; and it was restored by his son.* The writer supposes the far-famed Mosaic tabernacle to have been nothing more than an ordinary tent, and the ark of the covenant to have been an ancient relique of the Mosaic times. The description, he says, of the Mosaic tabernacle was probably taken from that of David, or there were some few data for the basis. It is astonishing and incredible in itself that Moses should have published ceremonial rites so accurately defined and so artificially contrived. These laws of Leviticus, he calls the invention and the badge of later priests. Moses may indeed have introduced a priesthood, but who can define what portion of the laws relating to it was his production? If the tribe of Levi had been distinguished in the times of Moses in the sense and in the manner in which it is represented in the Pentateuch, and had been sanctioned as a cast of priests, a hierarchy would have been established which would have directed every thing; which the history does not shew. The consideration of the high priest appears to have totally vanished before the authority of the old seer Samuel; and does it ever appear again except in the later times of the kings of Judah? Successive attempts at legislation are seen in the relation of the book of Deuteronomy to the preceding books of the Pentateuch. From the later composition and compilation of Deut. the whole difference may be explained. Chap. xxviii. is a palpable imitation of Levit. chap. xxvii. more expanded, elaborate, and adorned. The whole character of the book bears the mark of a later period. It is written in a spirit which bears a considerable affinity to the rabbinical allegorizing and mystical philosophy, and a cold and austere theology; while we find in the other books mythology and law in their simple natural form; in Deuteronomy we hear a moralist. Here we find dissuasions from the worship of the stars which Manasseh introduced, and against which Jeremiah inveighs. The law respecting kings, and many other laws are proofs of the later antiquity of the book: the laws of offerings

and feasts are more accurately defined than in the earlier books. In Deuteronomy, lastly, we first hear something of a place which Jehovah had chosen to put his name there, which with Exod. xx. 20 ff. is in direct contradiction to the unity of the divine worship in the temple at Jerusalem. In Deuteronomy xii. 15 ff. the slaughtering of cattle is permitted, but the offering is the exclusive privilege of the priest. The feasts appear rather to have been the work of time and of successive contrivances than of a deliberate legal institution. Amid the deserts of Arabia, surrounded by dangers, inquietude, and want, Moses had no time to think of feasts. Moses, says the author, must have instituted the passover and the feast of tabernacles in the midst of the events which occasioned them, and even before the events; as would appear from Exod. xii. 12, but with which v. 39 is at variance; for in ver. 39, they appear to have been taken by surprise; while, according to verse 12, they must have been prepared. The whole relation proves itself untrue by its ambiguity, and equivocation. According to Deuteronomy, these facts ought to be celebrated only in one place, i. e. exclusively in Jerusalem. In the earlier books, in which the festival laws are repeated and accurately defined, nothing is even intimated of the place where they should be held. These are points which the author explains with accuracy and supports with proof. If any thing may be objected against particular propositions, (as against much of what is said concerning the origin of the passover,) and the force of proof is not so great in some parts as in others, yet the cogency and justness of the whole cannot be mistaken, as soon as without prejudice we enter upon this investigation. Though the book of Deuteronomy be of later origin than the other books of the Pentateuch, yet, considered as a whole, it may have been composed at an earlier period. And the author allows that in almost all the quotations of the Mosaic law, in the rest of the Old Testament, and in all the references to it, the book of Deuteronomy is clearly meant or appears to have been meant.

In the book of Chronicles we read more and earlier of priests and the Levitical establishment, and of the abolition of the worship on the high places, which are distinctly at variance with other repeated and clear declarations of the Bible. From the book of Chronicles are usually produced the proofs of the state of religious worship among the Israelites, and of the uninterrupted observance of the Mosaic law. The author was therefore obliged, in combating these proofs, to inquire into the historical value of the different accounts.

*The Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Book of Chronicles* constitutes accordingly the first part of this work, and is placed first, in order to support the inferences which follow. We have inverted this arrangement in order the more clearly to shew the importance of the critical inquiry. The author opposes, with great force of argument and power of conviction, the hypothesis of Eichhorn that a brief summary of the lives of David and of Solomon was the common source of the accounts till the death of Solomon; and that all the rest must be considered as additions derived from other relations and the corrections of a later period. Nor does he shew more indulgence to the hypothesis of Eichhorn, that the authors of the books of Kings derived their materials from the histories of the kings of Israel, and the histories of the kings of Judah; but, that on the contrary in the books of Chronicles, not only the same sources of information were employed, but besides four more general accounts several particular lives of particular kings are cited: thus in the books of Kings the history of the kings of Judah, and even of the worship of Jehovah is only fortuitously mentioned, while in the books of Chronicles it is executed with solicitous exactness. These positions are combated with singular felicity. De Wette completely refutes the prejudices in favour of the greater credibility of the books of Chronicles. With respect to the books of Kings, the author remarks that in the history of the kingdom of Judah they are barren of remarkable occurrences; that in the principal events of that kingdom the kingdom of Israel is involved; and that the principal kingdom was the inferior politician. Hence is explained the manner in which the first kingdom is treated in the book of Kings. The period of Rehoboam and Joas is sufficiently detailed; on the contrary the history of the six kings of Israel, 1 B. xvi. and 2 B. xiii. is described with a barren brevity. The authors of the books of Kings have not been wanting in attention to the state of religion, as the performance of the divine service under David and Solomon, and especially the history of the prophets. But indeed they know nothing of the Levitical establishment, (which the books of Chronicles so circumstantially describe,) for this had not then been introduced. The supposition that the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, and the histories of the kings of Judah, which are cited in the books of Chronicles, were the same work, de Wette justly holds to be incapable of proof. Where the books of Chronicles quote particular writings, we must accordingly expect to find greater deviations from

the books of Kings; but even in these cases we meet with verbal harmonies, e. g. 2 Chron. xiii. 22. xxiv. 27. Perhaps, says the German critic, those citations were only literary parade; only reference to certain parts of a more general work under particular titles. In 2 Chronicles xxi. 34, and xxxii. 32, this is expressly said. It is remarkable that in the accounts of Asah, Amaziah and Ahaz, the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, of Josiah and Jehoiakim, in an inverted order the book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, and of Jehosaphat and Manasseh, the book of the Kings of Israel is cited, when at least in the last period there was no longer any kingdom of Israel. The author brings various reasons to prove that the books of Chronicles are of a later date than, and not of equal authority with, the books of Kings. In the books of Chronicles he remarks the want of precision, *the negligence and manner of a compiler, the love of the marvellous, a great predilection for the Levites, who are in general the principal personages; partial and unfounded defences of the Jewish worship, embellishments of events in order to promote this purpose, partiality to Judah and hatred to Israel.* And this may be proved by a multitude of notorious examples. We shall mention only two instances: Three verses, 2 Chron. i. 14—17. are put entirely out of their place; they are again found 2 Chron. v. 25. in their proper position, which they also occupy 1 Kings x. 26. In the account of the removal of the ark of the covenant 1 Chron. xiv. we find a verse foisted in without meaning or connection about Hiram's mission to David, which on the other hand stands in 2 Sam. v. 11---25. in its proper place. In 2 Chron. xviii. 31. Jehovah is made immediately to interpose in order to effect what 1 Kings xxii. 32. follows of course. In 1 Chron. xiii. and xv. 2 Chron. xxiii. we behold the Levites taking the precedence in the religious solemnity, though no mention is made of them on the same occasion in 2 Sam. vi. and 2 Kings ii. In 2 Kings xii. they are mentioned, but not in a favourable manner; but compare the representation of the same event 2 Chron xxiv. 4—14. The worship which the kings of Judah offered to idols and performed on high places, is every where concealed in the books of Chronicles, while it is openly mentioned in the books of Kings.

The conclusion of the author is, that in all these additions the authors of the books of Chronicles deserve no credit; though at the same time it cannot be denied that they have preserved many old and impartial accounts of particular transactions, as 1 Chron. vii. of Ephraim, and cap. ii. of the

conquest of Jerusalem, of which the narrative 2 Sam. v. is incomplete.

The venerable Griesbach has written a preface to this work, in which he courteously requests the reader not to take any offence at the freedom of the discussion; and, though all the laws recorded in the Pentateuch and the Levitical worship should proceed from Moses, he refers him most benignly to the apostle Paul, who vehemently affirms the little value of the Levitical institutions and the fitness of the abolition. The manner in which this apostle discusses the subject of judaism, while he renders homage to its essence, is in our times susceptible of a variety of applications.

We must here beg the reader to observe that in the above remarks we have not been delivering our own opinions, but the opinions of the author of the work, or of a German critic, by whom it has been highly commended. We propose the subject itself to the calm and patient investigation of our learned readers, as one of the highest interest and importance. We are well persuaded that truth can never suffer from discussion. Error may court darkness, but truth loves the light. Religious truth may have been impeded and obscured by inquisitorial prohibitions, but it was never yet injured by free inquiry. It has nothing to dread, but every thing to hope from the fullest and most unrestrained investigation. All that we want to know of revelation is *whether it be true*. If it be true, it is of infinite moment; and every thing good and fair and lovely must follow the firm, the rational, and unprejudiced conviction of the truth. Here are parts of the old Jewish fabric, which appear to us, as they evidently did to St. Paul, to have nothing whatever to do with the more pure and polished structure of the Christian doctrine. They are a sort of clumsy and superfluous out-buildings, which as soon as they are demolished will let more of the solidity and beauty of the Christian edifice appear.—The Jewish dispensation was partly ceremonial and partly moral. The ceremonial part of it was a more fugitive contrivance, and if it were not the work of human artifice, it was at all events little more than what human artifice might have been expected to produce. The moral part of it, which was probably the work of mortal intellect working under a divine superintendence, or favoured by the secret illapses of a celestial influence on the thinking faculty, was principally entrusted to the care, and its great ends were principally promoted by the exertions of the prophets. It was the prophets who prepared the way for the coming of Christ: and how did they prepare the way? Not, as is vulgarly supposed, by the delivery of ambiguous oracles or equivocal pre-

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dictiona, but by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, by proclaiming mercy to be better than sacrifice, and by shewing the utter nullity of all ceremonial observances without the practice of humanity, of justice, and of truth. Thus they endeavoured to dispel the darkness that veiled the coming, and the clouds that attended the dawn of the sun of righteousness. What strikes us with wonder in the history of the Jews, and what may well impress general astonishment, is, that even in the rudest ages, when the manners of the people were barbarous and uncivilized, and when all the surrounding countries were immersed in the lowest depths of idolatrous superstitions, we do behold among the Jews, and for a succession, not of years but of centuries, a portion of intellect, irradiated no doubt by the Supreme Intelligence, continually at work to prove the being and to preserve the awful consciousness of ONE ONLY FIRST CAUSE. This seems to prove that the Jews were to be instrumental in promoting some beneficent plans of the moral governor of the world in a way in which no other people were; and the consideration at the same time throws light on, and gives credibility to the Christian revelation, which, if we may so express it, was cradled in the bosom of prophecy; and which contains all and more than all which the prophets ever taught, that was either striking, sublime, terrifying, or conciliating with respect to God; or salutary, pure, and holy, full of hope and solace with regard to man. Christianity is that moral dispensation which was begun, enforced, and cherished by the prophets, carried to perfection; and all the brightest virtues which those holy men, who, compared with the ignorance and the depravity of their contemporaries, were superlatively good and wise, ever either taught or practised, are seen more resplendent, more perfect, and more pure in the precepts and in the example of Jesus Christ, the greatest of prophets, the best of the good, the wisest of the wise, and the beloved Son of God.

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ART. VI.—*Memoires de Louis XIV. &c.*

*Memoirs of Louis XIV. written by himself, composed for the Dauphin, his Son, and addressed to that Prince. To which are added, Fragments of military Memoirs, &c. &c. Arranged and published by J. L. M. de Gain-Montagnac. Paris. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.*

MEMOIRS are usually the most interesting and the most authentic species of history; particularly when they are not written with a view to publication, or at least are not

intended to be published till the author has passed into that region where he will be indifferent to censure or to praise. In such memoirs we may hope to see motives unfolded without disguise, and facts related without malicious or sinister misrepresentation. We must indeed even here expect to find some allowances necessary to be made for the vanity of the writer. We must expect to find those actions in which he himself bore a considerable share, a little heightened by the colour of self-love; but we shall at the same time obtain a considerable insight into the heart and character of the writer. On this account the memoirs of those who have made a distinguished figure in the world, who have been renowned for the influence which their power, their genius, their virtues, or their vices, have had on the happiness or misery of their contemporaries, must, when written by themselves, be singularly interesting. It must be confessed that Louis XIV. was one of those extraordinary men who stamped a peculiar impression on the times in which he lived. He gave a new tone to the habits and manners of the age. He was for some time the centre, round which the whole interest of civilized Europe seemed to revolve. The destiny of nations appeared to depend upon his arbitrary 'fiat,' though not in so great a degree as it does at present on the capricious determination of the fortunate adventurer who has got possession of his throne. The reign of Louis XIV. was in some measure the æra of literature and the arts; and the ceremonious pomp and magnificence of his court had a good effect in contributing to soften, to ameliorate and refine the gross and almost barbarous sentiments and manners which prevailed in France, and, still more in the rest of Europe. For whatever misanthropes or ascetics, unsocial moralists, or secluded and half-informed philosophers may talk about the corruption or the luxury of courts, it is certain that such courts as that of Louis XIV. not only afford the most active encouragement to the arts, but aid the progress of that civilization and refinement, in proportion to the diffusion of which every country is raised above the level of savage life. And however often may have been remarked the fortuitous association between the manners of a courtier and the insincerity of a hypocrite, it seems capable of almost mathematical proof that external courtesy, urbanity, and gentleness, have a natural tendency to excite congenial sensations in the heart; and that by purifying the manners we must, in a great majority of instances, improve the disposition.

The Memoirs of Louis XIV. which are now published by M. de Gâin-Montagnac, are taken from a manuscript collection of his works in three volumes folio, and three large portfolios, which are at present in the imperial library. They

were originally deposited in the royal library by the duke de Noailles, to whom they were confided by the monarch himself. Of the three volumes, at least two thirds consist of nothing but insignificant memoranda, and the rest exhibits the detail of three campaigns, with some small pieces. M. de Gain-Montagnac has had them accurately copied from the originals, and published without any variations. These different pieces throw considerable light on the character of the king, and exhibit a very favourable specimen of his literary talents. We shall not enter into any of the details which he gives of his administration, of his negotiations and campaigns, which have little interest in themselves, or have been previously described by others; but shall confine our attention to those parts which serve to throw most light on the character of the man and the true genius of his government.

Louis was no sooner seated on the throne than he seems to have resolved to govern for himself, and not to suffer the glory of his reign to be ascribed to his ministers, while he passed his time in dissipation and in indolence. He confesses that he set out with resolving to have no prime minister, who might perform all the functions of royalty while he had only the title of a king. He determined that his ministers as well as his other subjects should possess little other power than that of obeying his orders. He divided the toils of his administration among many, but he kept the whole authority concentrated in himself. The love of glory, or what perhaps we might better term a gorgeous vanity, was his ruling passion. This was the idol to which he paid the most constant homage, and made the most costly sacrifices. And though this passion often led him into highly immoral and even impolitic undertakings, yet we must confess, on an impartial review of the whole conduct of his reign, that it generally assumed a direction and operated in a way beneficial to his country.

Indeed the true glory of a sovereign can never be opposite to the happiness of his subjects. Those maxims of government which apparently had the decisive sanction of his cool and contemplative hours, were highly favourable to the welfare of his people. He considered himself, as he confesses, born only for their good, and an instrument in the hand of Providence for promoting it. But the violence of passion often obscures or perverts the sober decisions of reason or the calm injunctions of conscience; and as the conduct of private individuals is often at variance with the precepts which they revere, it cannot be wondered at that the conduct of princes should often be diametrically opposite to those rules of policy which their conscience most approves. And as our belief, whatever we may think to the contrary,

is frequently modified by our interest, we may readily conceive how, in the times in which Louis lived, he might have very gravely and in his own judgment incontrovertibly believed in the divine right of kings. He considered himself as the vicerent of heaven, and consequently thought that the right to command and the obligation to obey were not susceptible of any limitations. With these sentiments, it must be supposed that Louis could have not only no respect for civil liberty, but hardly any notion of its nature and operations. Indeed, great as was his aversion to a prime minister, he confessed that he would rather have had his glory shared by such a minister, than his authority controuled by a popular assembly; and he draws no bad comparison of the several inconveniences and vexations which he supposed that a sovereign was likely to experience from these two occasional appendages to his crown.

Louis had no sooner got the whole power completely in his own hands than he began to introduce several useful reforms in the civil and military departments of the state. But of every thing which he did, he took care to appropriate all the glory to himself. And indeed in the practical part of the administration he displayed a degree of activity and energy which forms a striking contrast to the usual, and the lover of civil liberty will undoubtedly say, the *happy indolence* of sovereigns. He made it his business to be acquainted with every thing that was going on in his dominions; he knew the exact number and discipline of his troops, and the state of his fortifications; he treated immediately with foreign ministers; he received dispatches; wrote himself a part of the answers; and dictated to his secretaries the substance of the rest; regulated his expenditure and receipts; exacted a strict account from persons in the highest offices; kept his own secrets; distributed favours more from his own choice than interested recommendations; preserved the whole authority in his own person, and kept those who served him best in habits of obsequious submission very different from the ordinary arrogance of first ministers.

'The activity of my character,' says Louis, 'the impetuosity of youth, and the thirst for fame, made me impatient to act; and I experienced at this moment that the love of glory has the same delicacies, and if I may so express it, the same timidities as the most tender passions. For in proportion as I was ambitious of distinction, I was apprehensive of defeat; and, regarding the slightest disgrace as the greatest misfortune, I was determined to practise the most scrupulous precautions.' It was his opinion, and there is much force of truth in the remark, that the reputation of great

men is not made up entirely of great actions; that the trivial and minute often contribute the largest share. They are thought to be the least studied, and to afford the surest indications of the character. Even in the smallest concerns a degree of moral delicacy may be shewn, which is not less to be prized than the most brilliant virtues. It may not make so much glare or cause so much noise, but it is not less deserving of imitation; and in secret it operates more powerfully on the heart. What we lose in renown is made up to us in felicity; and even Louis himself, passionately fond as he was of celebrity, could not but acknowledge that no prince can be completely happy, who does not endeavour to procure the love of his subjects as much as their admiration.

Louis wished to engage the elector of Brandenburg to defend the states of Holland, and he dispatched L'Estrade to enter into a particular negotiation for the purpose. But the elector, from some personal dislike, refused to treat with this minister. Louis smothered his resentment, and afterwards sent Colbert, who after much difficulty and many obstructions brought the business to a more favourable issue. On this occasion he remarks that 'there is hardly any thing which can vanquish him who is master of himself.' 'This example,' says the king to his son, 'may teach you of what importance it is for a prince to be master of his resentments; and not so much to consider the circumstances of the affront which he thinks that he has received, as the peculiar juncture of the times in which he is.' Bonaparte does not yet appear to have learned this kingly art of disguising his dislike and dissembling his hate; or we should not have been favoured with that curious insight into his character with which we were furnished by his last interview with Lord Whitworth, just before the breaking out of the present war. 'The warmth,' says Louis, 'which transports us, vanishes in a little time; but the evils which it produces remain for ever present to our minds, and they are embittered by the reflection that they were occasioned by our folly.'

Louis gave orders to his ambassador to lavish his bribes among the principal deputies of the United Provinces and in particular towns, in order to render himself master of their deliberations, to influence the choice of their magistrates, and to exclude as much as possible the partizans of the Prince of Orange, whom he knew devoted to the interests of England, from all places of power and trust. He at the same time made courtly presents to the Queen of Sweden, to her principal adviser the Lord Chancellor of the king-



dom, to the Queen of Denmark and the Electress of Brandenburg, to the Prince of Hainault, and the Count de Seurin. Louis seems to have prided himself in the policy and the virtue of these pecuniary largesses.

'It often happens,' says he, 'that small sums expended with judgment save the state from incomparably greater losses. For want of a single vote which we might purchase cheap, we expose ourselves to the hostility of whole nations. A neighbour, whom we might at a small expence have made our friend, costs us much more when he becomes our enemy. The least army, which may enter our territory, carries off more in one day than would have been sufficient to carry on a secret correspondence for ten years; and the imprudent economists who do not understand these maxims sooner or later, feel the bad effects of their parsimony in the desolation of their provinces, the cessation of their revenues, the exhaustion of their treasures, the desertion of their allies, and the contempt and aversion of their people.'

This reasoning appears specious, and, viewed only in a particular light and with an exclusive reference to the state which is benefited by the result, may appear incontrovertibly just. But questions of morality are not questions of partial consideration; they are of wide and comprehensive interest. Louis had probably never considered the question in a moral view; or he thought that no moral prohibition was binding when it interfered with his interested policy. Surely the same moral precepts which are applied to the conduct of individuals are applicable to that of states; and that no state can well do with honour what an individual could not attempt without shame. For one individual to endeavour to bribe another to betray his trust, or to act contrary to the interests of his employer, is what no sober moralist will for a moment hesitate to condemn; and certainly when one government lavishes its resources to corrupt the public functionaries of another, it is guilty of doing what no moralist can approve. And if we separate the policy of a state from those plain rules of right which are thought obligatory on individuals, there is no crime however atrocious, which may not be justified by considerations of political convenience. It is not the immediate effect of an action, which at all determines its moral quality. The immediate effect may be most beneficial, and yet the principle of the action be most base. We cannot too often inculcate on men in public as well as in private stations, the necessity of being governed by a sense of duty, and of not suffering that sense to be perverted by any interested considerations. There seems no reason why nations should not adopt in their mutual

intercourse, precisely the same standard of right and wrong of which individuals acknowledge the authority in their dealings with each other. The science of politics, which is at present such an enigmatical jargon of duplicity and fraud, would be greatly simplified. The law of nations, which is now enveloped in so much mystery, and the prolific source of such ruinous contention, would be found in reality to be little more than the plainest precepts of moral duty, applied on a wider and more extensive scale, and suited to a greater mass and diversity of interests. We will venture to say that there is hardly one cause of dispute, however intricate, respecting what is called the law of nations, which might not be rationally decided by fair inference from some of the great moral precepts which are consecrated in the Christian code. The laws of that code are not subject to any narrow limitations. They are not like the edicts of municipal or provincial law, not adapted for practical use beyond some particular line of wall, river, or mountain. They will be found to include, if examined by the light of reason and explained by the spirit of benevolence, most certain and most salutary inferences for settling every diversity of national as well as of individual animosity and contention.

The grief which Louis experienced on the death of the queen his mother, and the tender and affectionate manner in which he commemorates her virtues, do credit both to his sensibility and his intellect. Those sympathies which are so amiable in private life, seem doubly interesting, when they are seen to display their charms and diffuse their sweets in a state of splendour, in which they are so rarely found to bloom. It is probably for this reason, that the private virtues of a sovereign will often excite popularity and conciliate esteem, even where they are attended with no shining talents, no great public services, and no political capacity. 'Nature,' says Louis, 'formed the first bond of union between me and my mother; but those affinities which are formed by the qualities of the soul are less easy to be dissolved than those which are cemented by the ties of blood.' After this, Louis describes an interview which he had with his brother on the death of their common relation, and remarks with great truth that nothing contributes more to the peace of the state and the security of the royal family than the close union which subsists between the several branches and the chief. This greatly tends to dispirit the factious, to awe the malcontents, and to prevent any conspiracy which might be attempted from within or from without, from having any strong point of union or centre of support. If there had

been no such divisions in the royal family, 'we should not,' says Louis to his son, 'have seen so many rich jewels severed from the crown of France by those who seemed to be most interested in their preservation, and our country would long ago have been the mistress of the world, if the dissensions of her children had not exposed her to the jealous fury of her enemies.' Little did Louis think when he penned this sentence that in the course of about three generations after his death, the inveterate animosity of a younger branch of his family to the ruling sovereign, would subvert his throne, and lay the monarchy in ruins! For to whatever multiplicity of causes, remote or proximate, we may ascribe the French revolution, it is certain that the ambitious antipathy of the Duke of Orleans to the reigning family, tended more than any thing else to precipitate that event. His authority and his fortune were for a long time the centre spring of faction and revolt, his largesses corrupted the populace, inflamed the seditious, and in a variety of ways either caused or aggravated the public discontent. The French revolution would indeed have taken place if the Duke of Orleans had never lived, but the explosion would probably have been procrastinated, and the consequences less disastrous.

Of the vigilant scrupulosity with which Louis guarded even the trivial attributes of sovereignty, the following anecdote, with the remarks which he makes upon it, will furnish us with a specimen. His brother had earnestly solicited him to grant one request, which was that his wife might sit on a chair (*chaise a dos*) in the presence of the queen. This favour was importunately sought and as peremptorily refused. On this occasion Louis observes that there is nothing of which sovereigns ought to be more jealous than that pre-eminence which constitutes the principal beauty of their station. 'Every thing,' says he, 'which serves to denote or to preserve it should be infinitely dear to us; it is not merely our own interest, it is a trust for which we are accountable to the public and to our successors. We cannot dispose of it as we please; and we ought to consider it as one of those rights of the crown which are never to be alienated.' He thought, and perhaps as a sovereign he thought wisely, that pretensions of this kind were not mere matters of ceremony; and that popular respect is principally to be preserved by exterior appearances.

There is something so strikingly just in the following observations, that we cannot refrain from translating them for the pleasure of our readers. They will find an echo to their sense in every heart:

‘All the virtues, my son, possess in themselves a delicious taste of happiness which does not depend on the issue of events. Whether they experience prosperity or misfortune, whether the benefits which they confer be gratefully acknowledged or maliciously reviled, the secret testimony of the heart to their desert will furnish a rich source of internal satisfaction; and we may venture to say that they seldom fail to receive the praise which is their due. But of all the virtues, probity or good faith is that which is marked with characters too plain to be mistaken by the ignorant, and with charms too powerful not to be loved by all the world. Corrupt as the world is, probity is still the object of its veneration; and even those who have the least inclination to practise it, are obliged to counterfeit the appearance, that they may not be entirely excluded from society. In him to whom it is not an object of regard, the most splendid qualities soon become the most suspicious; while of those who cherish it with fondness we consider every error as venial, and can find excuses even for the grossest misconduct. It is the only virtue on which men in general pride themselves in every variety of circumstances. There are times and conjunctures in which good sense teaches us that clemency may be out of season; there are ages and countries in which even those who are deemed very good kind of people make a boast of every species of intemperance. But there is no time, no place, no circumstance in which we would willingly be thought to be wanting in probity.’

There are many moral reflections in this work of Louis, which shew depth of reflection and sagacity of observation. There is nothing in which men in high stations, and sovereigns in particular, ought to be more cautious than in making promises. Those who have much to give must still have more suitors than they can have patronage; and they are accordingly but too prone to make up for the comparative narrowness of their means or scantiness of their favour, by the unbounded liberality of their professions. Hence they are usually characterised by precipitation and facility in making promises; but they should well remember that in this respect precipitation is cruelty, and facility perfidy. How many a heart has been saddened, if not quite broken by the unmeaning promises of the great; promises not perhaps at the time made with any perfidious intention, but uttered without consideration! But ‘recollect,’ says Louis, ‘that the only means of inviolably keeping the promise is never to make any without mature consideration. Imprudence almost always brings regret and falsehood in its train; it is difficult to observe with punctuality that which we promise with levity; and every person who will pledge his word without reason will soon become capable of retracting it without shame.’

We wish that all princes and all governments were animated by this sentiment, that ‘there is such an intimate

relation between the monarch and his subjects, that the lowest individual cannot sustain any loss which, by a necessary train of consequences, does not do some damage to the sovereign.' Few monarchs have sufficient strength of mind to avoid that system of *favouritism* which tends to render them so obnoxious to the rest of their subjects. It cannot be expected that kings, who are like other men, should be without their personal attachments; they must prefer some individuals to others; but a proper sense of the duties of their station, and that regard for the general welfare of their people, which ought to be the ruling passion of a sovereign, should not suffer the partialities of friendship or the sensibilities of love to make them neglect the public good, in their eager desire to promote that of a few selfish individuals. A king is but half a king if he be the king only of a sect or a faction; his individual partialities, whether personal, political, or religious, should vanish in the sublime sensations of a more comprehensive patriotism. 'We should be persuaded,' says Louis, 'that we can have no interest in favouring one more than another, and that he whom we oblige at the expense of justice will not on that account regard us with more gratitude and esteem, while others will not fail to murmur and complain. If a king wish to reign at once in the hearts of all, he should be the incorruptible judge and common father of all.' In the excellent instructions of Louis to his son Philip V. on his leaving France to take possession of the crown of Spain, we find the following:

'Have no individual attachments; and in the end, never have any favourite or prime minister.'

A king without a mistress is a piece of history not often to be found. Louis XIV. had his; but he tells his son that it is not good to follow the example. His remarks on this subject are very just and interesting:

'If,' says he, 'we happen to fall into any of these extravagancies, we ought at least, in order to diminish the pernicious consequences, to adopt two precautions which I have always practised. The first is, that the time which we devote to love, should never be taken to the prejudice of our affairs; for our first object should be the preservation of our authority and our glory, which cannot be maintained without assiduous toil. And whatever may be the ardour of our passion we should consider that any diminution of our credit must tend to diminish the esteem of the person for whom we make the sacrifice. But the second consideration, which is the most delicate and the most difficult to manage, is, that, when we bestow our heart, we should remain masters of our understanding; that we should



separate the sensibilities of the lover from the resolutions of the sovereign ; and that the beauty to whom we are indebted for our pleasures, should never have the liberty of speaking of our ministers or our affairs. The heart of a prince is attacked like a place that is besieged. The first object is to get possession of all the posts by which it may be approached. An artful woman first endeavours to remove every thing that stands in the way of her interests ; that she and her friends may be exclusively heard, she inspires us with suspicion towards some and with disgust towards others ; and if we are not on our guard against her wiles, we must oblige her by disobliging all the rest of the world. The moment you give a woman liberty to discuss matters of political moment, she will inevitably lead you into error. Your sensibility for her person will give a zest even to her weakest arguments, and make you insensibly lean to the interest to which she inclines ; and her natural imbecility of judgment making her prefer frivolous to more solid considerations, you will always be in danger of adopting the measures which you ought to shun. They are eloquent in their expressions, importunate in their intreaties, intractable in their opinions, and all this is often founded only on some private pique, some personal attachment, or some inconsiderate promise. A secret with them is never safe ; if they want knowledge, simplicity may make them betray what they ought to conceal ; if they have talents, they are never without some secret confederacies or intrigues ; they have always some mysterious coterie for the purpose of ambition or defence, where they never fail to disclose all that they know the moment they think that it will promote their interest. I will acknowledge that it is very difficult for a prince whose heart is warmed with passion and impressed with esteem for the object whom he loves, to bring himself to adopt all these precautions ; but it is in the most difficult things that our virtue should appear ; and it is for want of having observed them that we see in history so many fatal examples of extinguished families, subverted thrones, ruined provinces, and annihilated empires.

Though we find in this work many sentiments, as might be expected, more favourable to the divine rights of kings than to the less doubtful rights of ordinary men, we have on the whole been pleased with the perusal. We have met with much interesting matter, and with many reflections which indicate a sagacity and extent of observation, that would do honour to a person of a more philosophic turn of mind than we ever supposed Louis XIV. to have been. Before we conclude this article we will just mention that an English translation of the original memoirs is preparing by Elizabeth Annabella de Brusasque, a lady whom it would be more easy to commend too little than too much for her talents and her virtues.

ART. VII.—*Benzenbergs Versuche, &c.**Benzenberg's Inquiry into the Proof of the Doctrine of the Revolution of the Earth.*

COPERNICUS was the first who taught the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis and its annual revolution round the sun. This system excited little notice for the first fifty years, but the discovery of the telescope increased the desire and the interest of astronomical studies, till the great Galileo arose to confirm the truth of the Copernican system.

Among the arguments which were produced against the motion of the earth, there was one on which the two celebrated opponents of the system, Tycho and Riccioli, laid great stress. It was this: a stone dropped from the top of a tower lights at the base; but, if the earth moved, the stone would fall far to the west, since the tower is carried about the rate of 600 feet in a second to the east. But Copernicus and Kepler answered, that if the earth moved every thing upon the surface must move with it; and that consequently the stone, which before being let fall had, like the tower, a direction to the east, preserved that direction during its fall. Thus a stone which is dropped from the mast of a ship in full sail, lights at the foot, though perhaps the ship advances 25 feet in the interval. Tycho denied this; but it was fully confirmed by the experiments of Gassendi on a fast-sailing vessel in the harbour of Marseilles.

In the year in which Galileo died, Newton was born, (1642,) whose genius, illumined by the spirit of him who made light out of darkness, explained the complex motion of the solar system. He was the first who positively affirmed that 'if bodies fall perpendicularly, the earth must be at rest; but they do not, according to the common supposition, swerve towards the west, but towards the east.'

If the earth move round its axis, the top of a tower is accordingly farther from the earth's axis than the bottom.

The farther a body is from the centre of motion, the greater is its swing, and consequently the top of a tower must have a greater swing towards the east than the bottom. If a point were made at the top of a tower exactly perpendicular over another point at the bottom, and that at the top moved with more velocity towards the east than that at the bottom, it would be a proof that the earth turns on its axis.

The mode of making the experiment is very simple. A well turned ball is hung at the highest point, and suffered to hang till it ceases to move. If the earth revolve on its axis, the ball will receive the same impulsion towards the east,

which the tower has where it is suspended. If it be dropped as softly as possible, it does not lose this impulsion during its fall, and it lights just by the perpendicular point at the bottom. If the ball move during its fall with a greater impulsion towards the east, than the point at the bottom, it must get before it and fall to the east of it. This amounts, according to German measure, in a height of 250 feet, to about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lines, which the ballast falls to the east of the plummet-point at the bottom.

This was taught by Newton in 1679. The accounts of it are found in Bird's History of the Royal Society. The society acknowledged the importance of the experiment which proved the revolution of the earth in so decisive and striking a manner. They ordered their secretary, Dr. Hook, to pursue the inquiry, but he made his experiment only on a height of twenty-seven feet. This the society thought too little, and named a committee to prosecute the business; but no account of their experiments is found in the papers of the society.

Since the deviation to the west, on the above supposition, amounts only to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lines, it was thought impossible that experiments should be made with so much nicety as decisively to ascertain so small a quantity. At least we find no one who for the space of 110 years ventured to repeat the same. And this is the more remarkable, as the idea was first started by a man whom all the world revered; of whom, particularly in England, not a word was lost; and even whose mistakes no one presumed to call in question till about half a century ago.

After a lapse of 110 years Guglielmini, a young geometer of Bologna, undertook to make these experiments on the tower of the Asinelli. Guglielmini overcame the great difficulties which he had to encounter in this attempt by his penetration and his constancy; nor did he rest till his experiments had reached that accuracy which he thought necessary to determine this important question. It was greatly to the credit of Guglielmini that he ventured to repeat experiments which had not only been abandoned for 110 years, but which had so far sunk into oblivion that they were hardly mentioned in elementary treatises of astronomy. In his first experiments he met with nothing but obstructions; and some trivial causes which he could not discover operated injuriously on the falling balls. And at that time it had not been yet determined whether experiments could be conducted with so much accuracy as to determine with certainty the fall of the balls to the distance of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  lines.

From a height of 240 feet he let fall sixteen balls in still weather on seven different days, between one and three in

the morning, when there was no noise or traffic in the streets. The balls were very carefully turned and polished. They were suspended by a small pair of pincers, which let them fall without any effort or impulsion. About twenty-five minutes after their suspension, the balls hung so still, that no motion could be discerned in them even by the microscope; but the slightest tremor in the tower, or the most silky breeze made them swing again.

By means of the plummet line, Guglielmini accurately determined the point at the bottom of the tower, which lay exactly under the point of suspension. He found that the point which was the mean distance out of all the balls, lay eight lines to the east and five to the south from the plummet-point. He published his experiments in 1792.

But some years after it was discovered that Guglielmini had committed a double error in his theory; that the deviation of the balls to the east should have been about five lines, and that there was no deviation to the south. Perhaps during the experiments of Guglielmini the towers might have been declined a little, since he did not determine the plummet point till six months after his experiments. And when accidentally the mistakes of his reckoning agreed with those of his experiments, he erroneously believed that his experiments were correct, till La Place shewed him the errors of his theory.

In 1802, Dr. Benzenberg instituted similar experiments on the tower of St. Michael's church in Hamburgh. This tower is one of the highest in Germany, and constructed purposely for physical experiments by the architect Sonin. It is 402 Parisian feet in height: and since the whole shaft of the tower is open, there is an uninterrupted descent of 340 feet. But these could be begun only at the height of 235 feet, as the draught of air under the cupola was too strong. As the tower is situated in a very populous street, a little agitation continually takes place in it; and the balls, which were turned and polished with all possible nicety, did not fall exactly on one point. The greatest difference was eighteen lines. In order to have a surer medium, the experiments were often repeated, and on different days; for in a great series of observations, the accuracy of the medium is as the number of the observations divided by the greatest difference. In cases in which we cannot confine the difference, we must make several series of experiments, and take the medium of each. From these mediums a medium must a second time be taken; which according to the nature

of the thing can vary very little from the truth; for in an infinite number of inquiries, the little differences happen as often on one side as on another; and accordingly they alternately negative each other. *In this manner we may make a more certain approximation to the truth.*

The medium out of thirty-one different balls which were dropped on seven different days with the utmost circumspection, was four lines to the east and one and a half to the south. Of these thirty-one balls twenty-one fell to the east, two on the line, and eight to the west. From the greater number of balls which fell to the east, it was soon seen that there was a force which drove the falling balls in that direction. The tremulous agitations of the tower produced some differences in the falling of the balls; and hence some may have deviated to the west. These little differences negatived one another; and thus the medium out of thirty-one experiments agreed so well with the calculation. According to this the point where the balls fell was four lines to the east from the plummet line. But the one and a half line of variation to the south was a failure in the experiment; for, according to the theory of La Place, of Dr. Gauss, and of Dr. Olbers, the balls should fall exactly to the east if the earth revolve on its axis. This variation to the south was probably occasioned by the unequal temperature of the air in the tower, which on the south side is always warmer than on the north; and thus a stream was occasioned which gave the balls a deflection to the south.

To determine this, experiments should be made in a mine under the earth; for we may suppose that the air is here of an uniform temperature through the whole shafts; and at the same time we should have no occasion to dread any thing from the agitation and the tremors which are always found in the towers of churches. In a journey through the county of Mark in the autumn of 1803, Dr. Benzenberg discovered the shaft of an old coal pit, which was 260 feet deep and well suited to the purpose. As this shaft was no longer worked, no disturbance could be feared. In this shaft Dr. Benzenberg obtained permission to carry on his experiments, and he had a small hut built at the top for the purpose. But as here there was too strong a draught, he had the shaft closely covered in with boards and turf, and suspended the balls below. At the bottom the shaft was stopped up with straw and earth, so that the air was quite at rest. The rising of the water in the autumn of 1803, prevented the experiments from being successfully prosecuted till the following year. The balls were about an inch in diameter,



carefully turned and polished. They were suspended from a flattened horse-hair, which was held by a little pair of pincers screwed to a balk, so that the balls fell on the application of the smallest force.

Out of twenty-eight balls the medium was five lines from the plummet point to the east. According to the calculation this point in a descent of 260 feet should be  $4\frac{6}{16}$  lines to the east. The difference of  $\frac{1}{16}$  between the experiments and the calculation is insignificant. It proceeds from a little failure in the experiments, and would vanish on increasing the number. The balls diverged from the medium about fifteen lines. This difference would have been less, had the shaft been perfectly dry, and a little drop of water, sometimes on this side and sometimes on that, had not occasionally touched the balls. But as these drops fell as much on one side as another, they negatived each other's operations, and hence the medium differed so little from the calculation.

From these experiments it was determined, that balls do not fall perpendicularly from a great height, but deviate easterly from a plummet line. 2. That there is no deviation towards the south, as some geometricians affirm, on account of the resistance of the air. 3. That the deviation toward the east is too small to be remarked in a single ball, but that in a multitude of experiments it may be clearly ascertained. And we see that there is a cause which impels the balls more towards the east than towards the west. Of these twenty-eight balls, twenty repeatedly fell east of the meridian of the plummet line.

In the time of Copernicus it was impossible to ascertain by experiment the revolution of the earth, for that knowledge was not yet attained which is necessary to precede the calculation, how far bodies falling from a given height should deviate to the east. Before this could be determined it was requisite to discover the laws of falling bodies, and how much time the balls would occupy in their fall. It was also necessary to be acquainted with the resistance of the air, in order to determine how much this impeded the balls in their descent.

**Art. VIII.—*Vie Politique de Louis Philippe Joseph, dernier Duc D'Orleans, &c.***

*Political Life of Philip Louis Joseph, late Duke of Orleans.*  
8vo. Paris. Imported by De Boffe.

AMONG all the accounts which we have of this abominable miscreant, there is no one which appears to deserve more credit than the present, in which the unknown author has merely selected such facts as are well ascertained, and related them without being swayed by the bias of any party. In his youth the late Duke of Orleans does not appear to have been vicious; but a neglected education and a very limited understanding abandoned him to the extravagancies of passion, which for a long time seemed to flow only in the current of sensual dissipation, till its course was altered by ambition strengthened by revenge. In the pursuits of ambition he felt no restraint from any conviction of moral duty or from the sensibilities of humanity. Avarice was besides one of the predominant features of his character; and if it appeared to vanish for a season, he was yet perpetually intent on securing new sources of wealth, without being awed by any considerations of justice, of decency, or even by the dread of the foulest crimes. His lust of power, which was kindled in a later period of life, was often subordinate to inferior views. Rapacity and revenge were the incentives of his ambition, and permitted his natural indolence and cowardice to govern him at intervals, without ever enabling him to undertake any thing with persevering exertion and permanent intrepidity. What has been said of his deep-laid scheme to place himself on the throne of France appears from this impartial statement altogether groundless, as his acknowledged character might have led us to expect. Mirabeau, unhappily neglected by the court, employed him for a long time as an instrument, whom he would have gladly placed upon the throne as a sort of puppet king to be governed at his pleasure. Hence the horrors of the 4th, 5th, and 6th of October, 1789, which were supported by the gold of the Duke of Orleans, who promoted them as far as he was able, but without the energy and the spirit which were necessary to consummate the iniquity and turn it to account. From that time Mirabeau appears to have forsaken him. Orleans proceeded by stinting the corn markets and other foul means to excite inquietude among the rabble, principally from resentment because the king refused to appoint him high admiral. La

Fayette discovered the scandalous intrigue, and the king pardoned him on the condition of opening his granaries. He then sent him to England under the pretext of an important secret mission, that he might learn the sentiments of the court respecting the Netherlands, in which he was perhaps himself deceived by the hope of obtaining the government of these provinces. But when the prospect changed, he went back of his own accord about the time of the confederation in the year 1790, and was rescued by his clients from the danger of being prosecuted for his crimes of the 5th and 6th of October, though Mirabeau diligently avoided interesting himself in his favour, and even lamented that circumstances would not permit his apprehension. He now went on to attach himself to the Jacobins, though it appears that he at the same time wished for a reconciliation with the king, who, on the opening of the legislative assembly, gave him the long wished for place of admiral. He testified his warmest thanks, and went to the levee on the following Sunday; but the courtiers, who were not aware of this reconciliation, treated him with so much contempt that he departed without having seen any of the royal family. His fury and resentment now passed all bounds. He took a very active part in the Committee of Insurrection which met at Charenton; he was privy to the attack on the 10th of August, and lavished his money among the Marseillaise. He took a more decisive part in the massacres of the 2d of September, and appears to have been particularly instrumental in the death of his sister-in-law the Princess Lamballe. He had very early in life ruined her husband, whom he had drawn into all his extravagancies. When her head streaming with blood was placed on a pike under his window, he rose from table, at which he was sitting with some guests, went to the window, soon sat down again, and very coolly said, 'Ah! la malheureuse! J'avais bien prédit qu'elle finirait misérablement.' 'Ah! poor creature! I always thought she would come to a miserable end.' Another person has reported him to have said when he saw the unfortunate princess's head at his window, 'Ah! the Princess Lamballe! I have not seen her look so well a long time.' When he was chosen into the National Convention he played a miserable farce under the name of Equality, immediately attached himself to the party of the Mountain, and promoted by every possible means, first the accusation, and next the condemnation of the king. To this the Girondists were in part constrained to assent, since they were represented as loyalists, and thought by

this sacrifice to establish their own security. In the mean time the sentence of death would hardly have been determined if Orleans had not been lavish of his promises and his gold. On the day before the delivery of the sentence, he invited the most notorious deputies of the Mountain to a great dinner, among whom was Lepelletier St. Fargeau, who with five and twenty of his colleagues, had bound himself by an oath not to vote for death. But Orleans found means so to terrify him, by the fear of losing his immoderate wealth, which was the idol of his soul, and partly to exalt him by the prospect of a connexion with his family, that he swore with his friends to vote for death, and actually kept his promise, which afterwards cost him his life. Dumourier, it is true, came to Paris a short time before the execution of the king, for the purpose, as he said, of promoting his rescue, for which purpose he had procured officers and men on whom he could rely, to the amount of three or four thousand men; but it is very probable that his object was rather to procure the crown for the eldest son of the duke of Orleans, who was then with his army, and that when he found this to be impracticable on account of the general abhorrence in which the father was held, he returned in order to mature some other plot. The hatred of the Duke of Orleans was carried to its highest pitch by the manner in which, on the day when the sentence was passed, he voted on all the three questions against the king, which excited not only generally in the convention, but even amongst the most furious partizans of the Mountain, the most undissembled reprobation. On the day of the execution he was on the bridge during the whole time, laughed when the head fell off, and remained till the body was taken away, when he hastened to his pleasure-house at Riency, where he indulged in every excess with his accomplices. But he soon saw that he had been deceived, that his friends did not show the least concern for his interests; and he was obliged, as the expiation of his fears, to sacrifice not only his wealth, but his library, his pictures, and his jewels, in order as far as possible to shield himself against a decree of accusation. In April, 1793, he was nevertheless, however unjustly implicated in the accusation of Dumourier, and sent to Marseilles, where he was guarded like other persons of the royal family; and though on his first examination before the criminal tribunal of the department of the Mouths of the Rhone he was acquitted, he was not restored to liberty; and soon after Robespierre had him comprehended in his accusation against the Girondists, partly in order to

rid himself of a phantom which had become troublesome, and partly to mitigate the clamour against the accusation of the Girondists, by the sacrifice of the man whom all parties conspired to execrate. He was brought back to Paris during the execution of the twenty-one deputies, on the 10th of September 1793; underwent a short confinement in the Conciergerie, where he was treated pretty well and permitted to drink as much white champain as he pleased; and after a single hearing in which he was tolerably defended by his client Voidel, he was executed on the 7th of November, 1793, on the same place in which Louis XVI. met his end. Invigorated by champaign he put on something like an appearance of courage on the day of his execution; but yet the horror of his end had quite bleached all the purple of his cheek; and in his last moments he conversed very devoutly with his confessor. No man pitied him; and his memory is so abominated that it is considered a reproach to have known him. Besides his public crimes, he was polluted by a multitude of other enormities of which the traces are vanishing into obscurity. Among these we may name his tricks at play, a talent which he purchased from the infamous Curtuis, by which he won immense sums in England; also his murder of the banker Pinet, who had trusted to him his port folio, containing twenty millions in which the fortune of many persons were included. Among these some had obtained information from one of the servants whom he had sent away, which would have led to a judicial accusation, but which was of no avail, as Orleans contrived by some means or other to get him sent out of France.

ART. IX.—*Voyage dans les deux Louisianes, &c.*

*Travels into the two Louisianas and among the Savage Nations of the Missouri, also the United States, the Ohio and the adjacent Provinces, in 1801, 1802, and 1803. With a Sketch of the Manners, Usages, Character, and the Civil and Religious Customs of the People of these different Countries. By M. Perin du Lac. 8vo. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.*

THE author in August, 1801, took his passage in an American vessel for New York. In this city he contemplates with pleasure the marks of increasing opulence. The streets are large and furnished with footways; the markets are well provided, and that of fish particularly renowned for the quality and diversity of the species, both of the river



and the ocean. There are two public promenades, but little frequented. The men, intent only on the pursuits of avarice, have little idea of walking for amusement; and the women make a mall of one of the principal streets. The yellow fever seems a great enemy to the increasing population of this as well as of the other maritime towns of North America. The cause of this destructive scourge is principally ascribed to the merchants' docks or wharfs, in which, till lately, no outlet was contrived for the accumulated filth; which, acted upon by the intense heats of August and September, occasions those mephitic effluvia which are so unfavourable to life. When the yellow fever makes its appearance, it causes even the American for a season to forsake the pursuit of gain, which in his bosom is found superior to every other feeling but the love of life. If the exchange be deserted it is needless to say, in speaking of this mercenary people, that the domestic charities have been previously dissolved. The sick are left to the care of negroes, who seem privileged from the effects of the contagion, and who often dispatch the patient in order to get possession of his property. It is remarkable that the disorder confines its ravages to the sea-coast; and that there is no instance of its having been propagated in the country. The symptoms of this dreadful malady seem to be lassitude, pain in the kidneys, headach, parched mouth, difficult respiration, loss of taste, delirium, spitting of blood, inflammation of the eyes, repletion and rupture of the vessels, stupor, death! The wars of Europe either open to the Americans new sources of wealth or increase the old. The commerce of Holland, France, and Spain, is for the most part carried on in their ships; and even the English are often obliged to trust their merchandize to the same protection. New York chiefly supplies the West Indies with provisions, and exports a good deal of colonial produce in return. The trade of ship-building is carried on to great extent at New York.

In the United States they reckon fifty-three different sects of Christians, who all live in harmony and peace. As religious opinions are susceptible of an almost endless diversity, these sects are daily increasing; but no religious feuds are occasioned where no political favour is shewn. No sect is made invidious by exclusive privileges. In the United States there does not appear to be the same separation between the sexes and at the same early period as with us. Boys and girls are sent to the same school and receive the same instructions. When their education is finished, their friends whom they have made at school, or may make in the world,

may visit them without restraint ; without parental jealousies or prohibitions. And when love succeeds to friendship, it is not suffered to prey in secret on the heart. The declaration is frank ; and pride opposes no obstacles to the conjugal union of those who love. Education is principally confined to reading, writing, and accounts. Varieties of erudition and elegance of taste would only oppose the acquisition of that which is the chief object of American ambition.

Symptoms of the yellow fever, which had begun to appear, precipitated the departure of the author from New York. He retires to Newark, a beautiful little town celebrated for the salubrity of its air and the hospitality of its inhabitants. At Newark the author was present at several agreeable parties ; and he remarks that at the first sound of an instrument, that indolence and apathy which seem to characterise both sexes are seen no more. The young ladies sparkle with pleasure in the dance, and the most sprightly country dances are those which they prefer. In these moments they appear to most advantage ; for in general, however much the lily and the rose may be blended in their countenance, they are wanting in that sensibility of expression, without which beauty is but a body without a soul. From Newark the author traverses part of Jersey, and visits the falls of the Paissac, which are considered the principal curiosity of the province.

We shall next attend the author at Philadelphia. One of the first objects which attracted his attention was a corpse, which more than three hundred persons, decently dressed, were following to the grave. The coffin was made of mahogany, without any exterior decorations. The procession stopped at a large burial ground belonging to the quakers, surrounded with walls twelve feet in height, and planted with rows of the weeping willow and the cypress. The whole ceremony consisted in depositing the body in a hole five feet deep ; after which each retired in silence without any perceptible lamentation or regret.

Philadelphia contains about 70,000 persons of all sects and religions ; and there is no mode of worship in Europe which is not practised here. The number of the different places of worship contributes to the external decoration of the city, without in the least disturbing the internal tranquillity. The buildings which formerly belonged to the president and the congress have been sold cheap and converted into an academy. The public library has a statue of Dr. Franklin in the front. It contains from 30,000 to 32,000 volumes selected with judgment and preserved with care. It

is supported and augmented by an annual subscription, and every subscriber may have what book he pleases at his own house. The bank of the United States is the finest structure in Philadelphia, and its notes are received in preference to money throughout almost the whole extent of the United States. The theatre is a large building; but the performers appear to have had too much phlegm for our author. The Americans prefer tragedy to comedy; and seem to take no pleasure in any thing comic that is not seasoned with gross buffoonery and vulgar wit. Order and decency are strangers to the interior of the theatre. The ear is assailed with a clamorous din, and the nose with the smell of tobacco. The men wear their hats during the performance and are rarely found gallant enough to give up their seats to the ladies. Is liberty incompatible with politeness? We might as well ask, Is liberty incompatible with benevolence? We think not; though in America we have to lament the separation. The hospital however, is a noble institution, and vindicates the claim of the inhabitants to the feeling of humanity. There are subterraneous galleries in which are eighty chambers devoted to the residence of the insane. They are well fed and kindly treated. The number of these unfortunate persons interested the sympathy and excited the curiosity of the author. He was told by the physician that more than half of those persons owed the loss of their reason to their ebriety! Of the other half it might in one third be ascribed to love or jealousy; in a second third to religious fanaticism; and in the next to an unknown diversity of maladies.

The quakers are supposed to excel the other sects in industry and wealth. They support their own poor; have private hospitals for their sick; and their children are better educated in their colleges than in the public academies. But they are not on this account backward in contributing to institutions of public utility. The marriage of the quakers is as plain as their other ceremonies; it consists in a simple declaration of their mutual intention to live together as man and wife, without being fettered by vows or oaths. Their marriages are always the effect of reciprocal inclination; and the records of their society furnish no instance of a divorce. The extravagances of superstition seem to gather strength in crossing the Atlantic. Their worship is more made up of rant and noise. Their ministers use more outrageous violence of gesticulation, *more outheroding of Herod*. They practise the most furious contortions, and walk up and down a sort of gallery which they employ instead of a pulpit, in a state of delirium. When the preaching and singing are over, the mos-

zealous of the fraternity utter, with no gentle sounds, some of their imagined inspirations. The congregation cannot fail to bear testimony to the celestial oracles. But there must be a regular climax of absurdity. From breezy expirations they proceed to a wind of sighs; sighs are succeeded by sobs; sobs by a loud lament, when every one abandons himself to every species of extravagance which delirium can suggest. In an instant twenty different sensations agitate the assembly; one sings, another cries, one tears his hair or strikes his breast, another wallows on the ground where he makes a piteous howl, till at last they proceed to such a pitch of revolting fanaticism that every reasonable man is obliged to quit the place.

The author next visits Wilmington, famed for its commerce in grain and its fine mills; and after descending the Delaware to Newcastle, he takes the stage to Charlestown on the Chesapeake, whence he proceeds in the packet-boat to Baltimore, a place of great trade and with an increasing population of more than 80,000 persons. The new federal town of Washington did not, when the author visited it, contain more than 8000 inhabitants; though, if it be ever executed according to the original plan, it will exceed all the capitals in the world in regularity, convenience, and magnificence. At this time, as indeed ever since, a violent spirit of party agitated the congress. The author appears to entertain no very favourable opinion of the talents and the virtue of Mr. Jefferson. He represents him as stooping to the lowest arts of popularity, and willing to do any thing rather than not preserve his place. He had reduced the army to two thousand men: and the marine was in such a wretched state as hardly to be sufficient to contend with the corsairs of Barbary. But he has purchased the favour of the mob by taking off the tax on the strong liquors which are brought from the interior, whereas if he had tripled the duty, he would have rendered a much more essential service to his country. At Bethlehem, a village about 28 miles from Philadelphia, the author visited an establishment of Moravian brethren, who have in some measure realized a plan of happiness which the spirit of benevolence, if it ever become more diffusive, might extend to larger communities. Christianity considers all mankind as one family; which supposes an identity of affections and of interests.

The author draws no very pleasing picture of the sentiments and principles of the Americans; but we fear that it is but too true; and that to whatever causes it may be assigned, there is but little integrity beyond the Atlantic.

When they deal with each other they do it with suspicion and distrust. Each is conscious that the other will cheat him if he can; and that no moral considerations will be suffered to stand in his way. If an honest and ingenuous foreigner have any intercourse with them, he is sure to be made a dupe, and the wily American only laughs at the integrity which he ought to revere. In the late troubles in St. Domingo many of the rich settlers entrusted their money, their jewels, and valuables to American merchants and captains, who fraudulently appropriated them to themselves; and at least nineteen twentieths of these unfortunate persons had occasion to execrate the perfidy of these degenerate descendants of Englishmen. The same suspicion which characterises their dealings with each other, is seen in their domestic concerns. They will not even trust their children or their wives. The men go to market themselves, and purchase every thing that is wanted in the house; the wife appears to be considered only as a necessary piece of household furniture; and no more attention is shewn to her affections and feelings than if she were constructed of mahogany. Nothing can at any time get the better of the avarice of an American but his fondness for wine and spirits. These are his solace in care, his gratification abroad, and his delight at home. These seem the only stimuli, (if we except the love of gain) which can operate on the natural apathy of his character. The American woman presents a far more amiable picture. Indeed there is perhaps no country in the world in which there are more good women; or where female virtue is so generally diffused. The young women partake of the innocent gaieties of youth, but the period of their liberty and their pleasure seems to terminate with their marriage. Shut up in the interior of the house and wholly occupied in domestic concerns, the American wife is hardly ever seen abroad. With the most conciliating serenity she endures the mortifications and disgust which she has every day to endure from her husband, who is generally morose and often drunk. She is never wanting in excuses for his brutality, and it is her gentleness and urbanity in which the stranger finds some compensation for his barbarity. The American women always suckle their own children; and can hardly conceive it possible how a mother should abandon to a stranger so essential a part of her duty. Whether owing to the climate, to physical or to moral causes, female beauty is here said to be of short duration. Before the age of twenty the exterior charm which captivated often vanishes for ever. There are few countries where the women



have worse teeth than in the United States. Before the age of eighteen the teeth are usually spoiled. If the cause to which the author seems willing to ascribe this defect be true, it might easily be remedied. They have only to be a little less sparing of their pocket handkerchiefs.

In the latter end of February the author leaves Philadelphia for Louisiana. He traverses the whole length of Pennsylvania. At Lancaster he was present at the meeting of the assembly of the states. He observed that all the members, when thirsty, went indiscriminately to drink out of a jug that stood in a recess in the hall, which a servant kept constantly filled with water. About ten years ago not more than one or two glasses were to be found in the richest houses in America, however numerous the company might be. Pittsburg is a great resort of emigrants from the other states. Here they embark on the Ohio to form new settlements in Kentucky. This land of promise, which was hardly known thirty years ago, at present contains above 400,000 inhabitants. The author remarks the fondness of the Americans for local change, and the striking difference in this respect between them and the Europeans. An English farmer, for instance seldom changes his situation without reluctance, though it be only to move to the distance of a few miles. Long before the day of removal arrives it is anticipated with terror and regret; a thousand difficulties and obstructions cloud the prospect, and darken the way; and if the place to be quitted be the spot of early attachment, it increases the pang of separation. But an American seems to have none of these feelings. He quits not only without reluctance but with cheerfulness the home where he has lived for years, the house perhaps which he built, and the fields which he cleared, all the fair fruits of his diligence and toil, to form a new home at the distance of five or six hundred miles from his old, where he will have new difficulties to combat, another house to build, and other fields to clear. But he departs with alacrity, nor casts 'one longing lingering look behind.' His sole object seems to be to increase his opulence, and he prefers that situation where he thinks that he can do this best. He knows none of the local fascinations, the captivating restraints of European sensibility. The truth seems to be that the American farmer lives in a great measure in a state of selfish seclusion; he forms no social attachments, and it is these attachments which principally constitute that charm of neighbourhood which we find it so difficult to dissolve. Who would move with much reluctance from one end of the island to the other,

if he could carry with him and settle around him all those whom he esteems or loves, in whose converse and hilarity he has long been wont to find delight? At Pittsburg the author embarks in a boat, and descends the pure and limpid waters of the Ohio, which traverse a distance of eleven hundred and thirty miles, a length of navigation in which the pleasure is increased by the security. He stopped to visit the new and flourishing settlements on the Kentucky, whose banks less than thirty years ago were bounded only by dark forests and dreary wilds, the abode of the panther and the bear; but where neat villages and towns have since been raised, provided with the necessaries and conveniences of life. Such is the effect of enterprising industry! Near the point where the Ohio falls into the Mississippi is a stupendous cave, which is reckoned one of the greatest natural curiosities in North America. It is about twelve feet above the level of the river, and fronted by cypresses of surprising height, planted as regularly as if they had been disposed by the hands of man. The mouth of the cave is twenty-five feet high and eighty broad, it keeps gradually diminishing to the extremity, which is about one hundred and eighty feet distant, where the two sides approach within six feet of each other. The arch of this vast cavern viewed by torches has an enchanting appearance. The crystals on the top reverbate the light and dazzle the curious spectator. Beyond this cave is another of which the dimensions are hardly known.

We next ascend the Mississippi to Saint Genevieve, the first establishment of any importance in Upper Louisiana. In this neighbourhood are several Indian villages. The Chawanons are said to have made greater advances in civilization than most of the other tribes. They are great hunters, but still not entirely deficient in agricultural industry. The young women among them, who have any pretensions to beauty, practise a peculiar kind of coquetry. As soon as they arrive at the age of puberty, which commonly happens before they are twelve years of age, they either keep themselves quite secluded at home, or muffle themselves up so when they go abroad that it is impossible to see any thing but their eyes. These presumptive indications of beauty excite the impatient curiosity of love; but before the sighing swain can obtain the consent of the lady or the approbation of her parents, he repairs to the cabin where the invisible beauty is lying closely enveloped on her couch. He approaches with timid steps; and gently uncovers her visage so that his person may be seen. If this be to her mind,

she gives a smile of approbation, and invites the youth to lie down by her side; if his appearance be not prepossessing, she again conceals her visage more closely than before. The lover instantly retires, and no longer thinks of gratifying a passion which among these people is always approved when it is reciprocally felt. When the nuptial ceremony is over, the new son-in-law becomes one of the inmates in the cabin, but is obliged to engage in the chase for the benefit of his father-in-law till the birth of his first child. But the young savage, like the young rake in more civilized states, is very fond of novelty, and usually takes a very wide range in his amours. He seldom adheres to any one individual lady till the age of thirty, or five and thirty, by which time he has perhaps already married and abandoned at least a dozen wives. Saint Louis is the capital of Upper Louisiana, and would long since have grown rich from the mere commerce of furs under any other government than that of Spain, which, as if intent only on extricating the precious metals from the bowels of the earth, seems to neglect the more valuable products on its surface. Saint Louis, founded on a rock on the banks of the Mississippi, and considerably above the level of the river, is a highly beautiful and salubrious situation; surrounded by a country of exuberant fertility, it might long since have become the granary of Lower Louisiana; though the indolence of the Spanish colonists hardly produced grain enough for its own consumption. A despotic government seems to dread even the industry of its subjects; or else its influence, like the touch of the torpedo, numbs all sense of enterprize, and paralyses all vigour of exertion. In the possession of the Americans the two Louisianas will soon assume a very different appearance. The lands which border on the Missouri in Upper Louisiana seem highly fertile; and the inhabitants in general enjoy the most florid health. The junction of the Missouri and the Mississippi is a singular curiosity. These two powerful streams, of which the one is always tranquil and limpid, and the other muddy and turbulent, seem like two ill-matched lovers, to dread the irreciprocal embrace. The Missouri rushes on the fairer current of the Mississippi, which for some time repels him with a tranquil dignity and permits not their waters to unite. And except in case of floods after the melting of the snows, the two streams are said to flow for sixty miles without mixing, so that the water may be drunk clear on one side and muddy on the other.

The author makes preparations for his voyage up the Missouri. He fits up a boat with ten men on board, and well sup-

plied with every necessary for trading with the savages who dwell contiguous to its banks. At three hundred miles from the confluence of the Missouri with the Mississippi, he reaches the river of the Kances. When a trader arrives at a village belonging to these savage Indians, his first business is to make presents to the chiefs before he lands his merchandize. He is then permitted to construct a cabin in any part of the village which he pleases, and to open his shop. When the prices of the objects which he brings for sale are once fixed, no variations whatsoever are afterwards allowed. When a savage enters the trader's cabin, he lays down the skins which he has to dispose of, and fixes on the articles which he prefers. Every skin has a conventional value. What they call *plu* is equivalent to a piastre. Thus two goats' skins make a *plu*, an otter's skin two *plus*. As the trader therefore regulates his prices by the *plu*, there is never any difficulty in the traffic. Among the Kances all the persons of distinction seemed anxious to testify their regard for the author. They feasted him by turns; and, according to their manner, offered some of their daughters to minister to his gratification. He accepted those of the great chief, whom he would have feared to displease by a refusal; and made presents to the rest. Among the questions which these people asked him was the following: 'are the people of your country slaves to their wives, like the whites with whom we trade?' The author, fearful of losing his credit if he did not appear superior to the other whites, answered that they loved their wives, but without being their slaves; and that they abandoned them when they were wanting in their duty. We next find the author among the tribe of the Ototutocs, with whom out of complaisance he does not refuse to make a meal on dog's flesh. Among the Poncas, a more distant tribe, an accident occurred which seemed to threaten very disagreeable consequences. One of the author's crew had a pair of silver ear-rings on which a young savage appeared to have fixed his heart. He offered the possessor in exchange furs of more than twenty times the value. But no offer seemed sufficient, and no importunity could prevail. The desire of the savage had been raised to too high a pitch readily to forego its object. He waylaid the proprietor of these precious ornaments, shot him in the neck with an arrow, and left him for dead. He stripped off the ear-rings, and proceeded with an air of satisfaction to M. Perrin du Lac, and presented what he had previously offered in exchange for the trinkets which were then pendant from his ears. One of the savages extracted the arrow from the wound, on which he laid a plant which he had previously masticated. The wound

healed and the patient rapidly recovered. After ascending the Missouri as high as the mouth of the White river, where he met with some savages who had never before seen a white man among them, the author set out on his return to Saint Louis. When he had reached the river of the Kances, and was busy in taking on board some furs which he had buried in a hole till his return, he saw a party of the Sioux Indians approaching. The author immediately re-embarked with his crew, and left some of his least valuable furs behind. They had hardly gained the opposite shore when they were saluted with a discharge of musquetry; but night happily coming on, the savages abandoned the pursuit. This, if we except the robbery mentioned above, was the only act of hostility which the author experienced in his long voyage of several hundred miles up the Mississippi and the Missouri.

As the government of Louisiana has changed hands and assumed a different form since the author wrote, we shall not devote much attention to his remarks upon the subject. The condition of the people could never have been ameliorated under the vexatious and oppressive tyranny of the old Spanish government. Commerce was fettered by exclusive privileges, which were sold to the best bidder. The salary of the governor was hardly sufficient to supply his table; and yet his appointment was designed to make his fortune. No restraints were consequently imposed on his rapacity. The reader is left to divine the consequences.

A great many curious and salutary plants are found in Louisiana. The Indians have no other pharmaceutical preparations than those which nature has provided; and yet there is hardly a wound or a bite however venomous which they have not simples that will cure; with some of these they will often remove the most obstinate maladies; and even the venereal disease is said when in its worst state soon to yield to the virtues of their plants. Among those plants which have this peculiar property they reckon the *viperine* which the inhabitants call *Racine a Begret*, from an almost miraculous cure which it performed on an individual of that name, who was more than sixty years of age. Attacked by a venereal malady, which he had had for some years, he seemed at the point of death. An old savage undertook to cure him if he would follow his advice. To this he consents, and after drinking for a few months an infusion of the root, to which he left his name, and bathing with it the gangrened parts, he was restored to a better state of health than he had enjoyed before the commencement of his malady. The author saw an Indian who had been wounded in



a skirmish, and continued his retreat with his comrades though they went at the rate of sixty miles in twenty-four hours. Whenever they halted, one of the chiefs applied a plaster, made of a root which he bruised in his mouth, to the wound, and fastened it with a thin slip of bark so as not to impede the motion of the part. Among their less important plants, we should not forget those from which they procure their various beautiful and lasting dyes. One plant they have, which possesses so singular a property, as almost to exceed belief. It destroys or moderates the action of fire. A savage made the experiment in the presence of the author. He took a piece of the root, which he chewed for some moments, and then rubbed it over his hands. He next took three coals in a state of the most vivid combustion, which he successively extinguished by a gentle friction between his hands without the least perception of pain, or the smallest appearance of any burn or excoriation of the part. He afterwards took some coals in his mouth, blew them into a flame with his breath, held them between his teeth, and bit them in pieces without exhibiting any symptoms of pain or injury. They have another extraordinary plant which possesses the property of curdling water, and reducing it in a few moments into a solid body. A few drops of the juice are sufficient for the purpose. The only venomous reptiles which Upper Louisiana produces, are the rattle snake and the hissing snake, or the copper serpent; but to these nature has furnished a natural antagonist in the hog, at whose sight they fly, but whom they rarely escape. The black bears which, as soon as the snows commence, retire to hollow trees or excavations in the rocks to sleep out the winter, are then a favourite pursuit. The young ones constitute an agreeable food, and the old supply an abundance of oil. The wild turkey here attains a great size, and is found in large quantities. In the autumn and winter they weigh from twenty-five to thirty pounds. America in some very remote period of time certainly abounded with a race of quadrupeds as large if not larger than the elephant. Of this animal various skeletons have been found between the 35th and 45th degrees of north latitude. The great difference between the mammoth and the elephant seems to consist in the form, position, and substance of the tusks. To what cause are we to attribute the total extinction of this race of giants?

In all the Indian villages up the Missouri, there is a lodge-cabin, called the *lodge of old men*. Here they give audience to strangers, and deliberate on the interests of their nation.

It is also called *the lodge of mercy*; for if their most cruel enemy take refuge in it, his life is not only spared, but he is secured from every insult. The author relates several superstitious practices of the Indians. We shall notice only one or two. When the young men wish to obtain from the Great Spirit the gift of courage, or the favour of killing one of their enemies, they retire to a hill, where, without provisions, they pass several days, making all the while the most hideous cries. On the last day of this religious ceremony they cut off a joint of one of their fingers, or gnaw it off with their teeth, and leave it on the hill. Others bore holes in their arms and shoulders, into which they pass wooden pegs, and to them they attach long cords, from which their military weapons and many heads of oxen are suspended. In this state they make the circle of the village, and having repeated the ceremony for five successive days, they depart for the war. These are no bad modes of admission into the temple of Patience or of Pain. An old Sioux having lost his son in a battle with the Osages, cut off every month a piece of his ears, so that at the expiration of the year he had nothing left but the orifices. The savages have a memory which nothing can escape. If they see a tree or a stone which at all excites their attention, they will remember it for ten years to come. This species of memory they never lose. All their animal senses are in the highest degree of culture and perfection. This is particularly seen in their powers of vision. In the darkest night they will pass the most extensive savannahs and plains, as if instinctively, to the spot which they wish to reach. Where the European can barely discern the trace of a single footstep, the Indian will teach him that ten, twelve, or fifteen men have placed their feet there, and he will follow the track through the thickest forests and over the driest rocks without any deviation. A leaf moved out of its place, a flint turned up, is sufficient to awaken his suspicion. One of the effects which usually follow from the indulgencies of civilized life is an obtuseness and dulness of the animal senses. But what we lose in physical we gain in moral sensibility. If our smell or our sight be less acute, the defect is more than made up in the improvement of other powers and faculties, of which savage life prevents the expansion and the growth. Among the American Indians the women lie naked, and often rise on certain emergencies without caring who sees them. They are generally covered with vermin, which they kill between their teeth. They never wash their clothes, but suffer them to rot upon their backs; they never cut their nails, and eat without any repugnance out of the same dish with their

dogs; and, what renders them peculiarly disgusting to the whites, they rub their bodies with the fat of the meat which they eat. Such are the disgusting concomitants of a savage life, which the author of these travels seems on the whole to prefer to the polished forms and innumerable comforts, the refined and refining delicacies of civilized society!!! We are far from coinciding in his opinion or approving his choice.

In the most civilized state in Europe, we know that *men-milliners* abound. But what shall we say of the *men-women*, who are common among all the hordes of American savages? These ambiguous males are apparelled like women, and are not only made to perform all the low drudgery to which the savage women are condemned, but are even employed to gratify certain unnatural propensities. Thus we find that savages can commit crimes to which we have heard that the miscreants of luxury have had recourse after having exhausted every source of gratification, palled every appetite, and jaded every sense!!!

The following is an action of real heroism; and, whether it were performed by a barbarian or a Greek, would deservedly merit a place for the author in the list of distinguished heroes. We mention it with more pleasure because it forcibly demonstrates what intrepidity and decision will do in moments of the most imminent danger, when, without an almost intuitive perception of some expedient, and the immediate and inflexible execution of it, all is lost. A party of eighty Chaguyeune Indians had attacked eight or ten families of the Halitanes, with whom they were at war, and defeated them without difficulty. Enough however escaped to give the alarm to a large village of the same tribe in the vicinity. In a moment all the warriors mount their horses, and proceed to the spot, where they find the Chaguyennes off their guard, and busy in collecting the spoils of the vanquished. Hardly twenty men of their little party survived the unexpected attack, when one of their warriors, by the following noble display of sagacity and resolution, saved both their lives and his own. He had observed a ravine near, where the horse of the Halitanes could not penetrate; here he retired with his little troop, whom he ordered to deposit their fire-arms near him. He was not willing that any should discharge them but himself. When any of the enemy approached, he took his aim with so much coolness and precision, that every ball told. His own party had nothing to do but to keep loading his guns. Enraged by this obstinate resistance, and ashamed of being vanquished by such a handful

of men, the Halitanes dismounted from their horses, cut down some bushes, which they held before them as a protection, and advanced. The Chaguyenne chief instantly adapted his plan of defence to the new mode of attack. He made his people resume their arms, but ordered them not to fire till the enemy drew very near; and then only half to fire at once, in order to give time for those who had fired to reload their pieces. This manœuvre was so promptly executed and succeeded so well, that the bush-defended assailants, most of whom were wounded, made a precipitate retreat. The great chief of the Halitanes, inflamed with revenge and stung with shame, resolved to kill the Chaguyenne chief with his own hand, or to perish in the attempt. With his buckler and his lance he rushed impetuous towards the foe, who awaited his approach with a courageous look, and when he got so near that he could not miss his aim, the Chaguyenne warrior discharged his piece, and struck his enemy in the heart. He fell instantly dead; and his comrades retreated in dismay, without attempting to offer any further molestation to the return of the Chaguyennes. The annals of civilized or of savage war will not often furnish any instance of superior intrepidity, at once so prompt in counsel and so energetic in execution.

The author quits these savage hordes, and takes his departure down the Mississippi for New Orleans, where he arrives after a voyage of six weeks. This city contains about 12,000 inhabitants. It is situated in an island about twenty miles broad and sixty long. The whole town was destroyed by fire in 1788, and the greater part in 1794; but the houses have since been built of brick. It does not appear to have been judiciously chosen as a place of trade. The distance from the gulph of Mexico is great, the landing bad, and the surrounding country deficient in fertility. Iberville was the first who ascended the Mississippi in the reign of Louis XIV. He left a small colony on the spot. In the year 1712, M. de Crozat obtained from Louis XIV. the province of Louisiana. It comprehended both banks of the Mississippi through its whole length, a part of the Ohio to the Miami, and extended as far as Lake Eric on the borders of Canada. From this time the resources and population of the colony kept increasing till after the peace of 1763, when the government was transferred to Spain, and every hope of improvement suddenly disappeared. Spain has since transferred the province to France, and France has sold it to America. To America it will open a new source of wealth, and will perhaps tempt her at some future period to enter in no friendly manner the rich provinces of Mexico.

M. du Lac concludes his work with some account of George Augustus Bowles, who, like our author, seems to have preferred the rude liberty of savage to the decent restraints of civilized society. The Indians, who had every reason to celebrate his exploits, honoured him by the name of "the beloved warrior." Bowles was twice in the English service; but he could not endure the salutary formalities of military discipline, and he was twice dismissed. Having passed his youth in the midst of forests, and on the frontiers of savages, he conceived an early attachment to their modes of life. He retired among the Creek Indians, and married one of their women. The Spaniards, to whom he had proved an implacable enemy, used every effort to get him into their power. They at last succeeded by the basest perfidy. Two Spanish officers were sent to him with a letter from the governor of Louisiana, who said that he had orders from his government to treat with him on the disputes subsisting between the Creek Indians and the court of Spain; and that in order to facilitate the negotiation, he had sent a ship with two officers appointed to conduct him to New Orleans, where he would experience every civility and be treated with the most respectful attention. On these solemn assurances Bowles departed for New Orleans, where the national faith was basely violated, and he was sent as a prisoner to Spain. Here the court tried every means of severity and indulgence, of promises and threats, to bring him over to their views. But nothing could shake his purpose or corrupt his integrity; he was afterwards sent to Lima by Cape Horn, without any preparation for his voyage, almost naked, and in the coldest season of the year. Here the same propositions were renewed which had been made in Spain. They were rejected, and he was embarked for Mabila, where he arrived in the latter end of 1795. In 1797, he was again embarked for Europe; but at the Isle of Ascension he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped to Sierra Leone, where he procured a passage to London. Here he was well received by the then administration, and he again departed to wreak his vengeance on the Spaniards. His recent death is well known. There is a trait in the life of Bowles which does the highest credit to his heart. When he was on his passage to Spain, one of the officers who had betrayed him, and was probably going to receive the reward of his treachery, fell into the water. The Spanish sailors seemed in no hurry to go to his assistance. Bowles was sitting at the poop of the ship in deep reflection; but he no sooner perceived the miscreant who had betrayed him struggling with the waves than he plunged into the sea, and



reached him at the moment when he was ready to sink. He brought him to the side of the ship, and said loud enough to be heard by the whole crew, 'I ought perhaps to revenge your perfidy; but live, and remember that you owe your life to the man whom you have deprived of liberty.'

We have been a good deal amused with M. Perrin du Lac's travels, and we hope that we have not been remiss in providing some entertainment for our readers. The French seldom fail to make good travellers, and the present author will in this respect be found by no means inferior to the rest of his countrymen.

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ART. X. *Des Divinités Génératrices; ou du Culte du Phallus, chez les Anciens et les Modernes; &c.*

*On the Divinities which presided over Generation, or a View of the Worship of the Phallus, among the Ancients and Moderns. 8vo. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.*

MYTHOLOGICAL researches are so intimately blended with the history of mankind, they have such an immediate tendency to elucidate the ancient writers whose works are come down to us, and by tracing similarities of religious notions to afford a clue for discovering the connection and filiation of different nations, that no one who wishes well to science would willingly obstruct their course in any branch. Yet subjects such as compose the present work, afford so degrading a picture of the human species, and when followed up in their minuter details are so revolting to the delicacy of modern ideas, that some have thought the object pursued scarcely worth the sacrifice of decency unavoidably attending the pursuit. We know of one and only one method of reconciling this difference, which is, to write such lucubrations in a language inaccessible to those who might be in danger of corruption by reading them; and we wish our voice were strong enough to induce antiquarians in future to treat these subjects in Latin, and to confine them to the transactions of a society, or a body of similar researches, rather than send them forth in a popular form like the present. The author in his preface, anticipating the objections of those who may quote against him the maxim of Isocrates, that what is shameful to be done is shameful to be spoken, contends that the maxim is not applicable to his work, 'because the institutions, idols, and ceremonies of which he treats were and still are very decorous (*très-honnêtes*), being things consecrated to religion, and objects of

the veneration of many nations during a long series of ages. A silly argument, since by his own system the original religious emblem signified by their disgusting images was soon forgotten and debased by the impure mixture of human passions, (see p. 124, note).

But, not to pursue this farther, we shall only add in general that we highly disapprove the form in which this work is published, and that in many parts of it the writer dwells and expatiates on the brutal ceremonies of his *Divinités Génératrices*, as well as others very distantly connected with them, with considerable complacency. We refer more particularly to his 14th and 15th chapters, which detail many customs and institutions of later ages, that have equalled if not surpassed in indecency the ceremonies of the Phallus. He had proved to a certainty that in various instances, as the *Fascina*, the *Mandragoræ*, and the *ex-voto's* of monkish times, the solemnities of the Phallus have been preserved under various modifications, and that St. Fontin, St. René, &c. have supplied the place of the old god of gardens. But, lest any doubt, it seems, should rest in the mind of the reader, all the monastic bestialities must be raked up together and presented in one view, to exhibit a nauseous and horrid contrast between the purity of christianity, as it came from its founder, and the impurities of its professors a century or two ago. If we may be allowed to take a prospective view of times to come, we think it not impossible that some future antiquarian may offer it as an argument of the imperfect degree of delicacy existing in our times, that such a *recueil* as the present was published in a living language, and patiently endured.

Having said thus much, and perhaps more than enough, on the author's manner, we shall proceed to his matter, and in this respect we acknowledge with pleasure that he discovers considerable learning and ingenuity. He derives the Phallus from a celestial source, and traces it to sabeism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies, which so long formed an essential part of the Eastern devotion.

About 4500 years ago the sun, in consequence of a third part of the revolution of the earth, which produces the precision of the equinoxes, was at the vernal equinox in that sign of the zodiac which is called the *Bull*. The sign of the constellation which bore this name, represented upon artificial zodiacs, was considered as the symbol of the vernal sun, and of its regenerating influence on nature.

\* \* \* \* \*

The enthusiastic devotion for the sign of the spring equinox, was

carried still farther. They adored not only the representations of the zodiacal bull, but a living bull in process of time obtained divine honours, and was worshipped as a god, under the name of *Apis*.

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'The same causes which elevated the sign of the *bull* to the rank of a god, procured the same honour for the sign of the *he-goat*. These two signs equally indicated the return of the spring: they had the same lot, and bore the same name; but they were worshipped in different towns. Thus the vernal sun was emblematically represented by two living animals. The sacred goat was adored under the name of *Pan* at Mendés, the name of which town, says Herodotus, signifies in the Egyptian language, a goat. . . . Hence it is that Jupiter Ammon bore the horns of a ram, that *Pan* had the legs and feet of a goat; and sometimes its ears and its horns: and for the same reason, *Bacchus*, one of the sun gods, was often represented with the head of the heavenly bull, or only with its horns, and sometimes with its feet. From this cause he was often named, among the Greeks and Romans, *Bacchus Tauricornis* or *Tauriformis*. These figures were, it is true, monstrous; but their monstrosity had a mysterious motive, and without it the idol would have signified nothing more than a man.'

The symbolical representation of the fecundating influence of the sun in spring was moreover expressed by a particular disproportion which need not be named. In process of time the *Phallus* was separated from the symbolical animal, and worshipped either independently or affixed to an idol in the human form, occasionally beautified with the ears, or horns, or feet of a quadruped. In this progress it passed with the Greeks into divinities of different names, according to the different situations in which the statue was placed. In the meadows and fields, it assumed the name of *Pan*; in the forests or mountains, it became *Faunus*, *Sylvanus*, or a *Satyr*; in vineyards it was *Bacchus*; in the boundaries of lands, in the public roads, or at the entrance of houses, the same Phallic idol received the title of *Hermes* or *Terminus*; and lastly, when erected in gardens and orchards, it constituted the god of gardens or *Priapus*. This last title the author derives, after the learned but fanciful Count de Gebelin, from *pri* or *pré*, which in the Oriental languages signifies principal or first source, and *apis*, which means chief, father, or master. In these derivations, however, there is nothing sure or certain, nor does the author lay any great weight upon them. In all the above forms, it is observable that the fertilizing and genial influence of the sun, the original source of the *phallus*, is not lost sight of. The

vineyards, orchards, gardens, &c. were supposed to derive a prolific virtue from the presence of the guardian deity.

The same symbol, separate and reduced to a small size, was considered as a talisman or amulet, was afterwards suspended at the necks of women and infants, as a counter-charm against the effects of fascination. In this last form, it has come down to later ages, and took the name of *fesnes* or *fascina*. Appended to idols or in the shrines of Priapus or any other *healing* god, it becomes an offering or an *ex voto*. In this form likewise it has descended to times not far remote from our own, and *vœux* were presented without number to St. Foutin and the rest of the saints who have supplied the place of the pagan Phallic deities. Nor are customs of this kind yet wholly extinct in some parts of Italy.

Nor was this all : every thing which bore, or could by a wanton imagination be fancied to bear any resemblance in form to the Phallus, was conceived to have a virtue in preventing the evil effects of incantation and fascination. This explains a passage in the second satire of Persius, which Casaubon, Koenig, and his best interpreters have mistaken. Describing the ceremonies of lustration practised on an infant by the superstitious gossip, he says,

— frontemque atque uda labella  
*Infami digito, et lustralibus ante salivis*  
Expiat.

The learned reader will easily interpret the words which are printed in italics, on the principles which have been mentioned.

The author traces this worship through all its different shapes and modifications in different and distant ages and countries ; from the ‘ high places’ of Baal, whose worshippers ‘ burnt incense to the sun, moon, and stars and to all the host of heaven,’ (Kings, ii. 23.) to the Lingam of the Indians ; from the Adonis of Phœnicia, the Astarté or Venus of Biblos, the Thammuz of the Hebrews, or Chamos of the Moabites, the Atis of the Phrygians, to the *pullear* or composite order of the Phallus which is the symbol under which the Brahmans worship their God *Chiven*, the Mutinus or Tutinus of the Romans, the Fucco of the Saxons, and the Tiazolteuti of the Mexicans, among whom also the sun was the principal divinity, and the worship of the Phallus was found associated with that of the fountain of light.

We have thus given the heads of the present writer’s system with all the brevity and delicacy which the subject would admit. One circumstance is very striking in the his-

tory of this degrading branch of idolatry, which is, how very rapidly one corruption followed another in the Phallic worship. First the bull and the goat are simply zodiacal signs, then are taken as symbols of the vivifying power of the sun when he enters those signs; then these symbolical figures are converted into living animals; then figures of particular parts of these animals are manufactured as objects of worship; these are affixed to human idols, or are separately applied to the most brutal purposes. 'O curvæ in terras animæ et cœlestium inanes!' When man once departs from the simplicity of pure and spiritual worship, who shall set limits to his career?

A remarkable instance of popish and pagan composition, occurs, (p. 82.) in an extract from Sonnerat's Travels in India. The Indians have a custom of wearing on their necks an amulet, called a *Taly*, on which are engraved certain hieroglyphics representing the Lingham or Pulléian, which we may call the simple or compound Phallus.

'A Capuchin missionary,' says this traveller, 'had a violent quarrel with the Jesuits of Pondicherry, which was carried before the tribunals. The Jesuits, very tolerant when toleration favoured their ambitious designs, had not opposed the above mentioned custom. M. de Tournon, Apostolic Legate of the holy see, determined not to trifle on such a subject, and not being very fond of the Jesuits, vigorously prohibited the *Taly*, and ordered the Christians of India to carry in its stead a cross or a medal of the Virgin. The Indians, attached to their old habits, refused to make the change prescribed. The missionaries, fearing lest they should lose the fruits of their zeal and see the number of their new converts fall off, entered into a composition with the Indian Christians, and agreed that thenceforth the *Taly* should be marked with a cross. By this arrangement, the two symbols were combined.'

In reading the above, it occurred to our memory to have seen a similar instance of the amalgamation of Indian paganism and papal christianity in a collection of emblazoned Indian paintings brought over by a gentleman, who is since become a professor in one of our universities, and now in his possession. One of these paintings represents the Virgin Mary, whom they naturally understood from the missionaries to be the principal personage in their religion, enthroned in the middle, an infant Jesus standing on the left; while on her right hand stands a figure that may be taken either for an old-man or a post, and which, we suppose, represents the god Chiven. From this we may learn how impossible it is to implant christianity, even in its purer forms, without first preparing the mind and reducing it to some degree of cultivation; and how necessary it is, previously to the attempt at propagating



our religion among a barbarous people, to send a fore-runner to prepare the way by laying the axe at the root of the tree.

ART. XI.—*Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de l'Europe, depuis la fin du quinzième Siècle, &c.*

*Picture of the Revolutions in the political System of Europe from the End of the 15th Century. By Frederic Ancillon. 4 Vols. 8vo. Berlin. 1803—1805. Imported by Deconchy.*

NATIONS ought to be considered in respect of each other only as individuals bound by a variety of moral and social ties; and as individuals will never be guilty of any infractions of justice or humanity, who act towards other individuals as they would wish that other individuals should act towards them in the like circumstances; so no state, or aggregated political individual, which made the same precept the rule of its proceedings, would ever violate the rights or independence of any other state. But as the rulers of nations, by whatever name they may be called, or whatever may be the form of government which they administer, are, like the people whom they govern, directed more by passion than by precept, and by ambitious or interested, than moral considerations, this great law of action which God has written on the heart, has never yet been found the principle by which nations have been directed in their conduct towards each other. Indeed, statesmen in general have practised without repugnance a system of fraud and cruelty which is utterly at variance with every sentiment of justice and humanity; and in public life those duties seem to be violated without shame, of which the neglect in private seldom fails to produce obloquy and disgrace. In private life it is thought base to tell a lie; falsehood is an imputation which is felt with pungency and heard with disdain; but in the intercourse of states, in the discussions of ministers, and the negotiations of ambassadors, to juggle, to trick, to equivocate, to lie, are deemed honourable accomplishments; on which, when successfully exerted, the highest praise is sure to be bestowed. An able negotiator and a perfidious hypocrite have, in the histories of modern cabinets, been rarely found incongruous or discordant terms. What political system, from which any good can be derived, or any thing like stability be expected, can ever be founded on such a total dereliction and flagrant contempt of all that is most sacred and most dear to the truly wise and good?

The rights of nations, however complex and obscure they may seem, are quite clear and palpable to the unprejudiced

mind and the unvitiated heart. If statesmen were plain Christian moralists instead of loquacious jugglers, all the disputes which can ever arise respecting such rights would be easily determined, and the '*jus gentium*' would be readily deduced from the simple precepts of the gospel. But the law which seems to be the paramount criterion of right among states, is the law of force; and there has seldom been found any state which has wanted vice to counsel and audacity to attempt what it has had force to execute. In litigated questions of right between individuals, there is a superior power vested in the state, to which the parties may appeal, and by which the contested claims may be settled according to the decisions of reason and of equity. In no well governed state can the strong oppress the weak, or force constitute right. The passions of individuals are made to submit to the authority of tribunals, whose decrees are, in a great measure, the result of abstract unempassioned truth. Here force, instead of being the judge, is employed only as the guarantee of right. The force of all secures the rights of every individual. Something similar to this is wanting in order to secure the rights and independence of nations, and to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak. What previous to the ruinous explosion of revolutionary principles in France was termed '*the balance of power*,' had in some measure this tendency, and approximated this end. The system was indeed not very perfect in its kind; there was not sufficient cohesion in the parts, nor unity in the plan; but still it was better than no system at all; and if more wisdom, more disinterestedness, and more virtue, had been displayed by those who were entrusted with the execution of it, the destructive ravages of the French revolution might have been prevented, and the equilibrium of European power have still been preserved. Civilization would have kept advancing with steady and rapid strides, and Europe would not at this moment have been threatened with a portentous and overwhelming despotism. Of the system of which we are speaking, the object was to prevent any one state from acquiring a preponderance of power which might endanger the security of the rest. Before the French revolution Europe might be said to contain five first rate powers, each of which was inclined to watch with a scrutinizing jealousy the motions of the rest. These great powers served as central points, or points of protection and union to the subordinate states. The wars which then happened were seldom fatal to the belligerent parties or to their allies. The balance of power was considered in the terms of peace. Hostilities were terminated by mutual restitutions, and jealousies were

appeased by common sacrifices. There was indeed no actual sovereign tribunal to which states could refer their disputed claims, or which they could invoke to settle their incipient animosities; but there certainly was a sort of tacit agreement among all the European powers to prevent the dangerous ascendant of any particular power, and to preserve the integrity of the whole by repressing the inordinate rapacity of every part. Several instances might indeed be adduced, but none more striking than the dismemberment of Poland, in which there was a most impolitic departure from the spirit of this system; and in which other powers, who, by remonstrance or by force, might have prevented, either through indolence or timidity connived at the unprincipled spoliation and utter subversion of an independent state. The present servile humiliation of Austria is a well-merited punishment for the part which she bore in that foul transgression of political morality.

The rights of nations, like the rights of individuals, when they are forcibly attacked, cannot be protected without force. But in the case of a dispute between a weaker and a stronger nation, how is force to be prevented from overpowering right? This can be done only by a solemn compact between nations, to prevent injustice and oppression; and to rescue the weak from the tyrannical outrage of the strong. But for this purpose it would be necessary that Europe should be divided, as it was before the French revolution, among a number of powers, between whom there should in some measure be an equilibrium of strength, or at least in which one should not have such a preponderance as to be superior to the controul of the rest, and consequently to endanger their security. Where one nation attains such a gigantic excess of power as is at present possessed by France, the liberties and independence of other states must in a great measure depend on her forbearance; and every page of history will teach us that no nation will long be free which holds its liberties at the mercy of another; for the cupidity of states, like that of individuals, is seldom restrained by any other consideration than the consciousness of incapacity.

M. Ancillon justly remarks, that nations are in a state of nature with respect to each other. There is no social, no moral confederacy among them for reciprocal security, for the protection of right and the punishment of wrong. Hence wars are perpetuated, and an interval of peace, though only for the space of twenty years, is a rare phenomenon in the annals of any country. In order to put an end to this state of injustice, so injurious to the progress of civilization and the happiness of mankind, Henry IV. of France projected a con-

gress of nations, to which they should submit their differences, by which wars should be prevented and peace preserved. This plan was more fully developed by St. Pierre; but in the present state of Europe there seem almost insuperable difficulties in the way of its execution. The number of independent states is every day becoming less; and it is not improbable but that the whole of Europe may in no long space of time be swallowed up in two great monarchies, those of Russia and of France. These two colossal powers may perhaps unite to crush and to dismember all the intervening states; to parcel out the land and the sea; and afterwards engage in the most tremendous wars, till only one power is left to bestride the European, if not the Asiatic world. Heaven avert a catastrophe so fatal to the best interests of man! But if those governments which are still left unsubdued by the domineering ambition of France or of Russia, will not rouse from the torpor of inaction and the delusions of folly and of pride; if they will not adopt before it be too late the most salutary reforms, and found their security on the only solid basis of the most comprehensive civil and religious liberty, all is lost!!! A nation of freemen, whose interests are perfectly identified with those of their rulers, will present an impenetrable front to any hordes of slaves that may be sent against them. Both antient and modern history will teach us that there is no obstacle which the enthusiasm of liberty will not overcome. There is something in the very air of freedom which renders those who breathe it irresistibly strong and invincibly bold. It is the only atmosphere which is fit for the respiration of rational, of moral, and immortal man.

Till the middle of the fifteenth century there was nothing like a political system in Europe. Since that time some partial attempts have been made to prevent the recurrence of force in the disputes of nations, and to maintain a degree of order and harmony by a well-balanced equilibrium of power. Various treaties and alliances have been entered into with this view; and commerce, all whose tendencies and operations are of a pacific nature, had excited in some measure a common feeling of interest among the different states. M. Ancillon's work is a sketch of the political spirit, system, and occurrences of the times from the close of the 15th to that of the 18th century.

The author divides his work into three epochs, 1st, from 1492 to 1618; from the wars of Charles VIII. in Italy, to the beginning of the thirty years' war. This period comprehends the wars of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII. in Italy; the reign of Charles V. from 1515 to 1556;

the meridian greatness of Spain, which set with Phillip II., and the increasing power of France. Second epoch from 1618 to 1715, or from the thirty years' war to the peace of Rastadt and the death of Louis XIV. In this period France acquires a preponderance of power, and becomes for a time the arbitress of Europe. The resources of Louis are multiplied by the genius of Colbert; but they are at last almost exhausted by his destructive ambition and his expensive wars. His progress is checked and his power diminished by the energetic opposition of England, and the talents of Eugene and of Marlborough.

The third epoch extends from 1715 to 1789, or from the peace of Rastadt to the convocation of the States General in France. This part of the work is not yet completed.

Among the first appearances of any thing like a political system among the European powers may be reckoned the league which was formed at Venice in the year 1495, to expel Charles VIII. from Italy. The principles of what is called the balance of power were indeed known in Italy before they had become objects of attention in the rest of Europe. Italy was divided into a number of petty states, which were inspired with a reciprocal jealousy and dread; which accordingly watched each other's motions with unceasing solicitude, and as circumstances prompted, formed such alliances as seemed most likely to secure their independence. The powers which on the present occasion confederated against Charles VIII. were the Emperor Maximilian, Philip the Fair, archduke of Austria, sovereignty of the Low Countries, Ferdinand the Catholic, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan. The pope did not openly declare in favour of the coalition, but he secretly acceded to it. Charles VIII. intoxicated with false hallucinations of glory, and from the inexperience of youth forming projects which he had not strength to execute, had conceived the design of expelling the Turks from Europe, and of re-establishing the Greek empire in the east, when favourable opportunities of gratifying some minor objects of ambition call him into Italy. He passes the Alps, enters Rome by torch-light in a sort of military triumph, and makes himself master of Naples. But his victories are of short duration, and notwithstanding the bravery which he displayed at the battle of Fornova, at the foot of the Apennines, where, with only 9000 troops, he defeated an army of 40,000 men, he is ultimately obliged to abandon the country which he had so rapidly overrun. The passion for making conquest in that delicious region seems to have been inherited by his successor Louis XII., who was however far his supe-



rior in genius and in virtue; but in an age in which policy was made to consist almost entirely in perfidy and stratagem, his amiable qualities, his integrity, his open and unsuspecting heart only served to render him the dupe of his contemporaries. Louis makes three successive irruptions into Italy. He proposes to divide the Neapolitan dominions with Ferdinand the Catholic, who having readily acceded to the offer, makes use of the French troops to effect the conquest, and afterwards contrives to strip Louis of his share of the spoil. Soon after this, in 1508, Pope Julius II. succeeded in forming the league of Cambray, which was composed of the most heterogeneous and discordant materials. He engaged the Emperor Maximilian, the French king, and Ferdinand the Catholic, to take up arms against the Venetians, from whom the holy father had formerly experienced some trivial mortifications and neglects which he was determined to revenge. The principals in this confederacy, as often happens, had much more reason to be jealous of each other than of the power which they had united to destroy. This little state, enriched by commerce, and cherishing the most pacific principles, makes the most vigorous exertions for her safety. She braves the injustice of her enemies, and boldly makes head against the storm. She succeeds in detaching some members of the confederacy, and the whole soon crumbles to pieces. Pope Julius had made it answer his purpose of increasing the ecclesiastical territory; and he remembers that, if it had not been for the obstacles thrown in his way by the French, he would have been pope eight years sooner than he was. He would of course have had longer time and more frequent opportunities for gratifying his avarice and ambition. This injury was not to be forgiven. Concealing the feelings of revenge under the pretexts of religion, he persuades the Spanish monarch, the Swiss, and the Venetians, to unite against Louis; and knowing how much mankind are deluded by names, he gives to this iniquitous confederacy the title of 'the Holy League.' Louis for some time makes a powerful and successful stand against his enemies; but the advantages which his troops gained at the battle of Ravenna in 1512, were too dearly purchased by the death of Gaston de Foix, one of the fairest flowers of chivalry in those days of gallant enterprise and high achievement. He was killed by a pike while impetuously pursuing the flying enemy. With him the fortune of Louis seemed to decline. Henry VIII. of England, flattered by the caresses of the papacy, to which he afterwards became such a bitter enemy, and hop-

ing to secure the title of Most Christian King, which the King of France was then thought unworthy to retain, is induced to join the league. Intimidated by defeat, and alarmed by the progress of his enemies, Louis effects a reconciliation with Leo X. the successor of Julius, who neither inherited his energy nor his resentments. Thus we see that at this period the political system of Europe began to assume something of a solid and consistent form; that a greater intercourse took place between the different courts, that the smaller powers sought protection in the alliance of the great, and that the partial aggrandizement of one had begun to be beheld with jealousy and alarm by all.

Though the reign of Louis XII. had been signalized by so many errors and reverses, yet so many were his amiable qualities that 'the good King Louis, the father of his people, is dead,' was the cry in the streets of Paris as soon as it was known that he was no more. This was not courtly adulation or barren panegyric, but such praise as consecrates and embalms the memory of kings. The reign of Francis, who succeeded him, was more splendid than wise; but he still appears a most estimable prince, when his generosity, his openness, his romantic courage, and his exalted passion for renown, are contrasted with the less liberal policy, and more sordid ambition, with the cold reserve and calculating prudence of Charles V. his contemporary and his rival. Francis, as ambitious as his predecessors of making conquests in Italy, marches an army into that country; and after gaining the well fought battle of Marignan, which, in the opinion of Marshal Trivulce, was a conflict of giants, he acquires possession of the Milanese. His victory on this occasion, when the Swiss infantry were for the first time defeated, may be considered in some measure as the cause of his subsequent misfortunes. It aggravated his passion for war, and generated an extravagant confidence, while it inspired his enemies with jealousies and fears. We shall next find Spain, directed by the genius of Charles V. acquiring a great preponderance in the scale of European power, humbling the pride of France, and herself becoming the great object of universal inquietude and dread. But still the energetic union of the inferior powers prevents the equilibrium from being entirely lost, and averts the slavery which seemed to menace Europe. At the age of 16, and in the year 1516, Charles became master of the most extensive dominions which had been concentrated in one potentate since the times of Charlemagne. His sceptre at once swayed the Nether lands, Spain, Naples, with the recent discoveries in America, and from his great uncle Maximilian, he claimed the

inheritance of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Milanese.

Perhaps we shall not render an unacceptable service to our readers if we abridge for them the contrast which the author has drawn between Francis and Charles; two sovereigns whose sanguinary conflicts, whose varying fortunes, and whose opposite talents for thirty years interested the attention and divided the admiration of Europe.

Without being wanting in personal bravery, Charles did not possess the brilliant courage which characterized his rival. He was not an adept in the art of war; but he knew how to select those who were adepts; and what is more rare, he did not, by conceited interposition, controul their judgment or impede their operations. Francis, who was imperiously ruled by his imagination, did not carry his views beyond the present. Charles at one glance embraced a vast whole; he connected the future with the present, and made even the details of his policy subordinate to general views. Francis was great in misfortune, and could manifest energy in critical circumstances. These Charles employed all his art to prevent; and afterwards preserved the utmost presence of mind in the most difficult situations. Pleasure made Francis forget every thing else, and gaiety was his solace when all was lost. Charles was not an enemy to pleasure, but his pleasures partaking of the nature of his temperament, were marked by a considerate moderation: he was rather cloudily serene than luminously gay; the habit of reflection had tinged him with an air of gravity. The one was sensitive and volatile, generous and imprudent, more fond of glory than of power; the other tried every thing by the balance of calculation; his decisions were correct and very profound; but he was an entire stranger to every emotion of sensibility; he looked only to one object, which was success; and he felt only one passion, the love of power. Charles commanded admiration, while Francis interested the affections; the first had the superior intellect, the last the more amiable heart.

In the reign of Charles, Spain seemed on the point of establishing an universal domination, which would have left to other states only a titular independence, and Europe would have nowhere presented any thing but the chilling prospect of a master and his slaves. But various causes conspired to check the growth and reduce the dimensions of this overgrown colossus. Among the principal of these we may reckon the reformation, which gave new vigour to the exertions and new energy to the will of free-born man. Nor ought we to omit the possession of Mexico and Peru, which, though they filled Spain for a while with a plethora of wealth, ultimately ac-

celerated her decay by relaxing the sinews of her industry.

In 1618 begun the disastrous war between the catholics and protestants of Germany, which lasted for the long space of thirty years. It is proverbially notorious that theological controversies are conducted with more bitterness than controversies of any other description; and when the parties appeal from argument to arms, the contest is usually carried on with savage ferocity and infuriated violence. The worship of the God of Love may then be truly said to be celebrated with a deluge of blood and tears. In such wars the people are usually made the dupes of interested and ambitious miscreants, who find almost inexhaustible resources for gratifying their own sinister views, in the passions of the multitude. Religion is the ostensible motive, and temporal policy often the real ground of the dispute. In this war of thirty years the contending powers, instead of acting in concert, took the field in succession, and the house of Austria had hardly ever more than one enemy to combat at a time. Frederic V., Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, Denmark, Sweden, and France successively took part in the conflict. This was a fatal mistake, which only protracted the period of calamity, and quite desolated those parts of Germany which were the principal seats of war. The sanguinary conflict was at last terminated by the peace of Westphalia, which deprived the house of Austria of the political preponderance which, since the reign of Charles V. she had had in the affairs of Europe. This period, in which there was such a furious conflict of prejudice, of passions, and of interests, was productive of very great men, on whose genius, on whose virtues the mind may dwell with complacency amid the annals of this stormy period. Indeed such are either the times in which nature seems most lavish of her moral and intellectual productions, or such are the circumstances which are most auspicious to their growth and their expansion. Exciting causes then operate which are quiescent in more tranquil times. In great and perilous exigencies, great talents are requisite, and the supply is seldom unequal to the demand. A period of convulsion and distress brings all the moral as well as physical force of a nation into play; the routine of fashion and prescription is no more revered; the little passions sleep; and the principal obstacles in the way of superior abilities are removed. In epochs of outrage and dissension, when every thing seems thrown into confusion, talents seldom fail to find their level; and mind seems to be exalted by the tempestuous agitations of matter.

The author gives a luminous and animated sketch of the political history of England from the accession of the first Charles to the restoration of the second. We next read a brief detail of the intestine troubles in France which preceded the reign of Louis XIV. In the moral world we often find trivial and apparently insignificant causes which produce violent revolutions in the civil state of man. The dissensions in England between Charles I. and his parliament appear at the commencement frivolous in their nature, and likely to be insignificant in their consequences; but they ended in the destruction of the prince and the subversion of the monarchy. The troubles in France about the same period wore at the beginning the most threatening aspect, and seemed to presage the dissolution of the state; but they were directed only against an individual, who escaped unhurt with all his credit and all his power. The great object of the parliament of Paris in its opposition to the government was to expel Mazarin from the ministry. The chiefs of the malcontents did not, as in England, proceed on any methodical plan, or pursue any regular system of hostility to the court. Their measures had no reference to principles of liberty; and there was a sort of ludicrous inconstancy in all their operations. The people could not pardon Mazarin for having engrossed all the confidence and favour of Anne of Austria, the regent of the kingdom: and even if he had made a better use of his wealth and his power, the people would still not readily have forgotten that he was an Italian. Mazarin seems to have followed the political system of Richelieu, but he had neither his comprehension of view nor his energy of character. Of Richelieu it is said, and well said, that what he willed, he never willed by halves; and that what he had willed once, he always willed. A man of this stamp was well calculated to awe the factious, and to uphold a government by the weight of his own personal authority. But Mazarin was indebted for success more to finesse and intrigue, than to any commanding decision of character; and his timidity often made him relinquish measures, of which he did not want sagacity or wisdom to discern the fitness and approve the choice. He possessed one of those minds which at a glance discover the most minute resemblances of things, which seem intuitively to draw correct judgments from the most trivial appearances, which can separate the most delicate shades of character, and penetrate the secret workings of the soul. But all these qualities were in his situation rendered nugatory by not being conjoined with a masculine hardihood of nerve and a dignified sublimity of soul. The most violent



and the most formidable opponent of the cardinal was John Francis Paul de Grondy, a priest without religion, but who affected a great regard for sacred things; that he might have the greater influence over the minds of the people. His only object was money, power, and pleasure; and as long as these could be had, he was quite indifferent about the means by which they were acquired. Such was the person who was the prime mover of the Fronde or opposition party in the parliament. The latter declare all taxes illegal which had been imposed without their consent; and claim the right of prolonging their sittings at discretion. Two of the members are arrested by order of the court, but they were soon after released in order to appease the clamour of the people. Such was the pusillanimity of the queen and of the cardinal. The court quits Paris, and both parties take up arms; but the conflict is short, and not signalized by one action of importance. An accommodation ensues. But the dissensions were rather smothered than suppressed. Fresh troubles arise. Conde and Mazarin become enemies. The former is imprisoned, and soon after set at liberty. Mazarin yields to the storm, and quits the kingdom. A new war. Conde and Turenne are seen at the head of opposite parties. A sanguinary conflict takes place between these two renowned chiefs in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, and in the streets of Paris. The court publishes a general amnesty. The cardinal is formally dismissed, and soon after re-instated in his place, which he retains till death. Such was the result of this varied drama; a compound of tragedy and farce; but in which the farce was the predominant ingredient.

In the period of which we are speaking, Sweden had risen to a high pitch of power. She had acted a memorable part in the thirty years war, and had considerably turned the scale in favour of the protestant interest in Germany. But, neither calculated by her resources, her population, or her local position for a first-rate power, the greatness which she had attained was a sort of forced strength which wanted the principle of permanence. The ruinous and impolitic wars of Charles Gustavus, the cousin and adopted successor of Christina, who, in 1664, renounced the toils of sovereignty for the pleasures of private life, contributed to precipitate the decline of Sweden to her natural mediocrity; and the mad ambition of Charles XII. at a later period reduced her to the verge of ruin and despair. Austria, England, Holland, and Denmark, contributed to check the short-lived domination of Sweden in the north. The Elector of Brandenburg, taking advantage of favourable circumstances, acquired the sovereignty of Prussia; and a place among the

European monarchs. The policy of the Frederic William of that day was flexible and temporizing like that of some of his later successors; but it was at that time wisely adapted to the perils of his situation and the scantiness of his means. And a policy which may be profoundly wise in a small state may be extremely pusillanimous and humiliating in a great.

France had obtained a considerable accession of power by the peace of Westphalia, and under the auspices of Louis XIV. we find her acquiring a great and menacing preponderance. Spain declines rapidly from the meridian of greatness to which she had arrived, and yields the ascendant to her more fortunate rival. The assistance which Cromwell at this time lent to France greatly accelerated the depression of Spain. Her fleets were beaten, her galleons taken, her commerce ruined, Jamaica conquered, and Mexico menaced with invasion. These events hastened the peace of the Pyrenees, which was concluded in 1659. In this treaty there was an article which led to very important consequences—the marriage of Louis XIV. with Maria Therese daughter of Philip IV. the infanta of Spain, though this princess was obliged to renounce her right of succession to the Spanish monarchy. But such renunciations were found to be mere nullities, which are never suffered to stand in the way of ambition where there is power to support the claim. The title which the marriage gave to France appeared to be more solid than that which the renunciation took away. The resources of Louis were greatly augmented by the wise administration of Colbert, who knew how to put in motion the industry of a whole people, and to give it that direction which is most favourable to the public good. But the wealth of the people seemed only to inflame the ambition of the prince and the prodigality of the court. Louis was desirous of a celebrity which is more dazzling but less merited than that which is derived from enriching a country by commerce, manufactures, and arts. Louvois, turbulent, enterprising, and unprincipled, flattered his passion for war; and indeed when that passion has once found its way into the bosom of a sovereign, moral considerations are of little avail, to damp the pernicious ardour or stifle the destructive flame. Philip IV. of Spain was dead; his successor Charles was still a minor, and had given no more favourable presage of vigour or ability than his father. The queen was named regent, who was herself secretly governed by father Canard an intriguing jesuit. Louis thinks this a favourable opportunity to advance the most unfounded pretensions to a part of the Spanish dominions. He lays claim to the Low Countries, and soon sends an army to support his right. He meets

with no resistance; and the campaign was rather a military procession than a serious expedition. He next takes possession of Franche Comté. These unjust attempts, which seemed only preparatory to greater and more dangerous efforts of ambition, roused the attention of England and of Holland, who for a moment forgot their mutual jealousies to attend to the motions of the common enemy. These two powers conclude an alliance, to which Sweden afterwards accedes, the object of which is to stop the progress of the French arms, and preserve the Netherlands to Spain. Louis, who was anxious to revisit Madame Montespan, and to exchange the toils of war for the applause of the Parisians, consents to a negotiation! Plenipotentiaries meet at Aix la Chapelle. France restores Franche Comté, but keeps Charleroi, Birch, Ath, Douai, Lisle, and several other towns, which, afterwards fortified by the genius of Vauban, served to protect France on that frontier with a barrier of brass, which at the beginning of the last war prevented the armies of the allies from penetrating into the interior. Louis could not forgive Holland for the impediments which she had thrown in the way of his ambition; and he soon announced his resolution to punish this commercial republic for her insolence. His first object was to detach England from her alliance with Holland. This was facilitated by the vernal and unprincipled character of Charles II., who could not readily resist the secret promise of considerable subsidies, and who fondly cherished any hope that seemed to gratify his propensity to arbitrary power. Holland now appeared abandoned to her fate. Louis enters it with an immense army. Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg command the troops; Vauban is present to direct the sieges. Louis meets with less resistance than might have been expected, and advances within a few miles of Amsterdam. All was consternation and dismay. The opposite parties of De Witt and the prince of Orange do not forget their animosities in the common danger. In one of those moments of popular ingratitude and inconstancy, which are so common in times of calamity and distress, all the former services of the patriotic and the virtuous De Witts are forgotten, and they are sacrificed to the fury of the mob: the office of stadtholder is re-established; and William unites the suffrages of the people. Courage seems to spring from despair; the exorbitant demands of Louis heighten the popular indignation; the French commit many faults; the winter sets in mild, and Holland is saved. William, whose feeble body was tenanted by a mighty soul, now excites a formidable coalition against

France; the emperor, the king of Spain, the duke of Lorraine, the elector of Brandenburg, the king of Denmark; the states of Germany confederate against the common enemy. A long and sanguinary contest ensued, which was at last terminated by the peace of Nimeguen. The allies were obliged to yield to the address of France in the cabinet, and to her superiority in the field. Louis was principally indebted for the advantages which he obtained by this treaty to the venal and perfidious conduct of the king of England. It is melancholy to observe in the history of the past as well as in the experience of the present, how much and how often the great and permanent interests of states are sacrificed to the little and fugitive interests of individuals!

At the peace of Nimeguen the glory of Louis had reached its greatest height. His arms had been successful both by land and sea; and his subjects were enriched by commerce and by arts. But the moment of prosperity is seldom that of moderation. Louis could not rest contented with his present degree of power. His ambition was insatiable, and the thirst was only increased by the gratification. But the preponderance of his power and the restless activity of his ambition excited the fears and the jealousies of Europe. The danger was imminent, and the alarm was universal; but it was not the feeble panic of despair so much as the determined energy of resistance. The other powers were resolved not to resign their independence without a struggle. The revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, had weakened the power of France, and while it excited the most generous sympathy for the sufferers, inflamed the indignation of all the protestant states against the author of a measure so cruel and unjust. The revolution which had taken place in England was at the same time highly favourable to the enemies of France. The grand alliance was formed in which England and Holland were the two principal parties, and of which William III. was the animating soul. The French marine was almost entirely destroyed at the battle of La Hogue; and since that period France has never had any superiority at sea. Her armies were more successful on the continent; but the peace of Ryswick, while it restrained the domination of France, secured the independent existence of other nations. At this epoch it was fortunate for Europe, and indeed for the whole civilized world, that the maritime ascendant which England had acquired, enabled her to check the continental despotism of France. And at the present moment what other check is there to the oppression of a despotism which is become far more formidable than it was in

the reign of Louis XIV. ? If the general independence of Europe rendered it necessary then, it is certainly much more necessary now, that the states of the continent should unite with England against the common enemy. If England had indeed chosen to take no part in the long and bloody wars which have been waged against France, she might have more readily dispensed with the assistance of the continent than the continent could have dispensed with her assistance. France would more than once have enslaved the continent if it had not been for the maritime diversion of this country ; but it is not probable that if France had had no continental diversion to occupy her attention, her marine could ever have crushed the marine of England. But still we think, that it is capable of legitimate proof that the political relations which have taken place between England and the continent have been useful to both. A state of selfish isolation from the general interests of Europe will, we trust, never be attempted by the magnanimous policy of this country. Nor would such a measure be more prejudicial to the honour than to the interests of the nation. The more close and intimate are our relations with other states the more will our industry be excited, our commerce flourish, and the benign spirit of an ameliorating civilization be diffused.

The moderation which Louis had shewn at the peace of Ryswick was only affected. He was meditating new projects of aggrandizement. The approaching death of Charles II. of Spain, who had no children, excited his hopes of uniting that vast monarchy to his dominions. This the other European powers were anxious to prevent. Various treaties of partition were settled, which were no sooner known than they inflamed the indignation of the Spanish monarch and of his subjects. Charles at last made a will, in which he declared Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin and grandson of Louis XIV. heir to the crown. A long and sanguinary contest was the consequence. A powerful coalition was formed, in which the talents of Eugene and Marlborough were eminently displayed ; and the peace of Utrecht at last composed the jarring claims of the different powers, and seemed to insure their future tranquillity and independence. The house of Bourbon kept possession of the crown of Spain, but measures were taken forever to prevent the union of the two crowns. Austria acquired possession of the Netherlands, Naples, and the Milanese ; and various other arrangements were made, which seemed to place the several states of Europe in a proper system of counterpoise to each other. No power was sacrificed, but the good of all seemed to be con-



sulted. The independence of the different states of Europe cannot be preserved without a wise and liberal system of counterpoise and counteraction, by which the preponderance of any one power may be prevented, and the security of each may be made to result from the jealousy of all. What has been called the balance of power, is not a chimerical absurdity, as some have imagined, though perhaps a better word might have been chosen; for by the balance of power was never meant that we should be in a state of perfect equilibrium with the rest; but that no one should be suffered to acquire such a preponderance as might render it dangerous to the liberties and independence of the rest. At present, however, it is vain to talk of such an equilibrium, when the colossal power of France is making rapid strides towards the complete subjugation of every state in Europe.

The picture which M. Ancillon has drawn of the revolutions in the political system of Europe is interesting and instructive. His details are luminous; his brevity copious; his reflections just, and often profound. His narrative never languishes, and his style is forcible and clear.

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## RETROSPECT OF FOREIGN LITERATURE.

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### FRANCE.

#### ART. 12.—*Memoires Secret, &c.*

*Secret Memoirs of the Duchess of Portsmouth, published with historical Notes. 2 Vols. 12mo. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.*

THE good people of Paris, like their neighbour, John Bull, are occasionally gulled out of their money by high-sounding titles, and the promise of revealing important secrets. In the present instance the delusion is most impudent, in as much as nothing like a secret is to be found in either volume of this work. The amours of Charles the Second of England, known to every one; the adventures of that monarch; the plague and the fire of London, are all detailed at length: the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and the cruelties of Judge Jefferies, the atrocities of Colonel Kirk, and the abdication of James the Second, conclude these wonderful volumes of secrets.

ART. 13.—*Les Arabesques, &c.*

*The Arabians, or a Pilgrimage to the Fountain of Youth.* 2 Vols. 12mo. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

THE author aims at wit, but misses his mark.

ART. 14.—*Lettres de Mesdames de Scudery, &c.*

*Letters of Mesdames de Scudery, of Sulvan de Saliez, and of Mademoiselle Descartes: to which are prefixed, Biographical Sketches, accompanied with explanatory Notes; being the last Volume of the epistolary Collection.* 12mo. 1806. Imported by Deconchy.

THE major part of these letters of Madame de Scudery, which are eighty in number, are addressed to the Count de Bussy-Rabutin, during his exile from the court of Louis XIV. They chiefly relate to politics and the political characters of the day, and are no farther interesting, than that they exhibit proofs of the ardent friendship which the lady entertained for the gentleman. The small number of letters of Madame de Saliez, from the lively and elegant style in which they are composed, caused us some regret. They relate to a project for establishing a new sect of philosophers, which took place in the year 1704, under the title of the 'Chevaliers et Chevalières de la Bonne Foi.' This society assembled once a week; and the first statute of the new academy was,

Une amitié tendre & sincère,  
Plus douce mille fois que l'amoureuse loi,  
Doit être le lien, l'aimable caractère  
Des Chevaliers de Bonne foi.

The solitary letter of Madame Descartes is a prosaic poetical account of the death of her uncle, the great philosopher of that name.

ART. 15.—*Lettres de Mesdame la Duchesse du Maine, &c. &c.*

*Letters of the Duchess du Maine and of the Marchioness of Simiane: to which are prefixed, Historical Notices, and Biographical Notes: intended as a Sequel to the Letters of Mesdames de Villars, de Conlanges, de La Fayette, de Ninon de l'Enclos, and of Mademoiselle Aissé.* 12mo. Paris. 1805. Imported by Deconchy.

AS the fair sex have always excelled the lords of the creation, so have the French ladies shown themselves eminently superior to those of all other countries in the art of letter-writing. The pen of females is guided by sentiment, and whatever escapes them comes from the heart. The Duchess of Maine, the friend of Voltaire, Fontenelle, and La Motte, may be enrolled among the foremost ranks of women, who have been conspicuous for epistolary composi-

tions. The present letters, in addition to the pleasure derived from an easy and flowing style, will recal to the mind of the reader the court of Sceaux, and the *conversazioni* of Madame de Lambert, where wit was displayed without study, science without pedantry, and grandeur without etiquette, 'where,' as the editor observes, 'bon ton and bon gout,' astonished at meeting in the same place, after the confusion of the regency, restored the happy days of Louis XIV.

ART. 16.—*La Nouvelle Astree.*

*The New Astrea, or Romantic Adventures of past Times: Traditions collected and published by C. Fr. Ph. Masson, of the National Institute of France, and the Philotechnic Society of Paris, with Prints and historical Notes. 2 Vols. 12mo. Metz, 1805. Imported by Deconchy.*

THE celebrated Dufè, the author of *Astrea*, is considered as the first French writer of romance, who possessed the art of exciting a degree of interest in the adventures he described. Florian, Rousseau, and M. de St. Pierre, revived the national taste for this sort of writing; and their works are too well known to require any mention from us at present. A laudable attempt to restore the present depraved taste of his countrymen to its pristine relish for what is excellent in its kind, has induced M. Masson to publish the *New Astrea*. 'When the author of the new *Eloise*,' says Mr. M. 'wrote, I saw the depraved state of our morals, and I published my book; it was the result of the most profound and tempered reflections. I will not have the presumption to apply these reflections to myself, but I will venture to say, I have seen the state of our literature, and I have published my romance.' It will be but justice in us to add that, to the admirers of nature and of days of yore, he has furnished a work, which will fully repay the perusal. Local traditions, anecdotes of antient families, and events taken from historical facts, but scattered in chronicles not generally known, are so collected as to form a suite of interesting pastoral and chivalrous adventures.

GERMANY.

ART. 17.—*Ulfilas Gothiche Bibelübersetzung, &c.*

*Ulfilas' Gothic Translation of the Bible, the oldest German Record, from the Text of Iheronimus, with a grammatical verbal Latin Translation between the Lines: to which is added a Grammar by Fulda, and a Glossary by Reinwald: the Text taken from Iheronimus's accurate Copy of the Silver Manuscript at Upsal, carefully corrected, and the Translation and the Grammar improved and enlarged, with Iheronimus's Latin Translation in a Line with the Text; with critical and explanatory Remarks, and an historical and critical Introduction. By Johann Christian Zahn. Ato. Weissenfels and Leipsic. 1805.*

THE title of this work sufficiently explains its importance. It ex-

hibits a rare proof of German diligence, and has earned for the author a place of distinction among the most celebrated antiquaries. It is dedicated to the King of Sweden as the chief of the still remaining Goths, the proprietor of the Silver Codex, and the friend of literature in general, and of biblical studies in particular. In the preface the author explains the utility of his undertaking with singular modesty, while he does ample justice to his predecessors and associates. Next follows an account of Fulda's life and writings collected from his own papers, which exhibits a very agreeable and lively picture, not only of the man but of the scholar. As a preparatory introduction, we are presented with a history of the Goths and their language, extracted from Adelung's still unpublished history of the German language. In this, new light is thrown on the first establishment of the Goths on the Baltic and the Vistula, and their migrations to Sweden and the Euxine, according to the reports of Pythias and Tacitus. The vulgar relations of the mighty achievements of Odin are also rectified. He explains the relation which the Gothic language bears to the other German dialects, and he considers it not as the mother, but rather only as the sister of the Alemanic, Franconian, Anglo-saxon, Dutch and Swedish, which must have proceeded from a common origin; also the agreement of the Gothic with the Greek and Latin, as well as the many resemblances to Flemish words from the intercourse between neighbouring people and colonies, particularly after the reception of Christianity, or from the mere conjectural descent of many people from one stock. We have also an agreeable account of the remains of the Goths in the Crimea, and other parts:

The introduction of Sabz treats in five sections of the life of Ulfilas, of his Translation of the Bible, of the Silver and Wolfenbuttle MSS., of the literary history on the subject, and other remains of the language. The original text from which the translation of Ulfilas is derived, is determined to have been the Greek mixed with Latin readings. The author proposes in another work to treat more at length of the critical uses of the translation in the New Testament; but we have here some erudite remarks from a correspondence with Griesbach. Notwithstanding the partial fondness of the author for the remains of Gothic antiquity, he is too discreet to be misled by fanciful conjectures or wild extravagances, as we see particularly in his explanation of the Gothic New-year's Ode to the Grecian Caesar, which Forster and Grüter have tortured on the rack of criticism.

The translation of Ulfilas itself is not printed in the peculiar Gothic characters, which only terrify the inexperienced without helping the learned, and which may be clearly and accurately expressed by the Latin. Under every Gothic word is a Latin translation in a smaller letter; which is so managed as to shew the gender, case, &c. of the Gothic; but since this is extremely defective in connection and productive of obscurity, (as e. g. *tenebrum fructus bonum, ad tibi,*) the author found it advisable at the same time to add the very literal translation of Benzel, Lye, and Ihre, which

is printed in italics in the margin. He has endeavoured in innumerable passages to correct both the original and the translation, from the copy of Ihre and the analogy of language, for which he gives his reasons in the notes. He often remarks and amends the errors of former editions; and here the learned will certainly do justice to his diligence as well as to his modesty, in not boldly receiving into the text the better readings, but retaining them solely in his annotations. As much praise is due to his exertions in the Gothic grammar and dictionary, which is not very fitly termed *Ulfilas'* second volume. The grammar is printed in 'the Gothic letter with the common letter by the side. For the more entire satisfaction of the curious, a copper-plate should have been added, to shew the very close resemblance of the Silver and the Wolfenbüttele manuscript, with the greater deviations of that at Ravenna and Arezzo. The author affirms with warmth, that the Gothic language is not hard and rough, but discovers an astonishing attention to harmony in the structure of its periods. In order to prove this he teaches us to pronounce the numerous diphthongs with Greek or French softness, which really means to pronounce only half, *ai* as *a*, *au* as *o*, *ei* as *i*, and *iu* as *ü*. But this is very conjectural, if not quite capricious. A rude and savage people are not wont to drop any letters in their pronunciation, or artificially to soften the guttural harshness of their sounds. The dictionary is principally executed by Reinwald. To every radical word are subjoined derivations and the compounds; and all the explanations are in German; many derivations, quotations, and improvements are added, which are formed into a supplement. By all these united pains the access to the Gothic language is so facilitated that hardly any thing is left even for the best critic to improve. This is a work of which, for the assistance of the student, every public library at least ought to possess a copy. Mr. Horne Tooke has shewn better than any other man, the value of etymological research, and the very great benefit which the study of the northern languages may confer upon our own. We were some time ago informed, that the ingenious and penetrating Mr. Kaslam had begun a Gothic and English dictionary. We heartily wish him success in this arduous undertaking; and trust that he will pay due attention to that rich treasure of Gothic diction, judicious etymology, and sound criticism which is to be found in Zahn's edition of *Ulfilas*.

ART. 18.—*Amalie Balbi Eine wanderbere Vision, &c.*

*Amalie Balbi, a wonderful Vision, which I myself have had. By Theod. Ferd. Kag. Arnold. Erfurt. 1805.*

THE author, who is taken for an exorcist, was sent for to a house in the country, in order to lay a ghost. The owner makes him acquainted with the circumstances; he has two daughters by an unlucky marriage, whom in order to remove from their wicked mother he has educated abroad. The elder returns home in her sixteenth year; her beauty charms one of the persons who was



paying his addresses to her mother, who endeavours to promote his wishes; he is rejected by the daughter; a noble youth gains possession of her heart, but the former suitor carries her off. After being rescued from the ruffian, she becomes the wife of the person whom she loved, but who perishes in a duel with the robber. Amalie falls sick; her death is expected; after a long time her recovery ensues, and her health is re-established. Count L. solicits her regard, but the ghost of her murdered husband appears to her every night, reminds her of her oath, and employs every injunction to prevent her from giving her hand to the count. Unspeakable are the sufferings of the widow, and great are the exertions made to get rid of the ghost. In this the author is successful, for the whole was an imposition. The author takes his departure as the benefactor of the family, and carries on a long epistolary correspondence, in which Amalie's sickness is first mentioned with the little probability of her recovery. As the author was once sitting up at midnight in the midst of his lucubrations, his candles flare in an unusual and unaccountable manner. After having long in vain endeavoured to discover the cause, he at last thinks of Amalie, when he sees her in a moment standing near and breathing an aromatic gale; the same happens to him the following night, when he has some conversation with the lady; no deception was possible; on the third night, when the author changed his apartment, the apparition still returned, and another dialogue ensued. In the morning the author finds himself indisposed, and receives intelligence of Amalie's death; he takes a walk with his sister-in-law, when both see in the broad day a female form waving resplendent in the air; in the evening he again converses with Amalie. The indisposition of the author and the apparition continued for fifteen days; he then took to his bed, and lay for a quarter of a year without any consciousness. After his recovery he goes to church, and when divine service was over, he sees Amalie. She was not dead, but had only been for a long time in a trance. 'I affirm,' says the author, 'before God and all the world, and as an honourable man, that this history is true, and so true that I will at any time confirm it by my oath.'

A work was some time ago published in Germany \* under the title of '*Kilian, ich komme wieder!*' &c. '*Kilian; I come again! or the real Appearance of my Wife after her Death.*' A TRUE HISTORY, &c. &c. This work is ascribed to Wötzels, and has given rise to several publications, some composed with irony, and others with seriousness of refutation and gravity of argument. The visionary productions of Wötzels have at the same time found advocates among the German literati; among these we suppose that we may rank the author of *Amalie Balbi*. Credulity, even in this enlightened period, is a very prevalent characteristic; and those who address themselves to this general propensity to believe without examination,

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\* See the Appendix to the Vth volume of the present Series of the Critical Review.

will find success attended with little difficulty, however monstrous, incongruous, or irrational the stories may be which they attempt to palm upon the world. There are still many persons left who would willingly restore the age of ignorance and superstition, and who regret not merely that the days of chivalry, but that those of popish imposture are past away.

ART. 19.—*Hand buch der elementar Arithmetik in verbindung mit der elementar Algebra.*

*The Connection of elementary Arithmetic with elementary Algebra, for the Use of Learners. By A Metz. Bamberg. 1806.*

THE use of learners is not in this work so much studied as the author, without doubt, intended. Algebra is only another name for arithmetic, and it differs from vulgar arithmetic, only in using letters for numbers. Its operations consequently differ in some respects, though the two rules of addition and subtraction are the same in both, and every thing that is done in algebra with letters, may be done in vulgar arithmetic by numbers. In fact this is the true way to teach algebra, to do every operation at first with figures, and then to substitute letters for those figures, to shew how the letters are combined together in the operation and in the conclusions. We expected to have found this in the work before us, but it follows too closely the books in general upon this subject, and the usual difficulties which learners find in this science are not sufficiently explained.

#### SWEDEN.

ART. 20.—*Svenska Kirgsmanna Sells kopets Handlingar, &c. 1801. 1804.*

*Memoirs of the Military Society of Stockholm.*

THIS work contains a variety of useful memoirs on military transactions, and we are rather surprised that a society of the same kind has never been formed in this country. The object of this society is every thing that may improve a soldier whether in science or practice, whether in the field of battle or the previous discipline for forming a soldier; and also every thing relative to the various departments of an army in the camp, in barracks, or in a town. The blockade of Genoa is particularly well described, and Essen's *Oförgispeliger tappar* on the qualities of a Swedish national army might be usefully consulted by those who are at this time devising a plan for the national defence of this country. The utility of this society seems to have struck the Swedish administration, for its name has been changed, and it is now the Royal Academy for military science. It has no connection however with the military academy at Carlsberg, in which a hundred and twenty cadets are educated for the sea and land service.

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W. Flint, Printer,  
Old Bailey.

